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A Kindertransport to Scotland:

Reception, care and resettlement.

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This thesis is dedicated in loving memory to my mother, Jenny Williams.

Abstract

The Kindertransport brought close to 10,000 unaccompanied minors to Britain on a trans-migrant basis between 1938 and 1939. The outbreak of war turned this short-term initiative into a longer-term episode. This PhD is a study of Scotland's Kindertransport story and an evaluation of the Kindertransportees' experiences of reception, care and nurture between 1938 and 1945. It also considers the wider implications of the Kindertransport upon the Kindertransportees' broader life stories after 1945, namely further migration and resettlement.

This thesis will unite a number of disparate areas of research, including British philanthropy and welfare, Anglo/Scottish Jewry, Zionism and migrant/refugee studies. It will be shown that Scotland's reception of the Kindertransportees was highly varied and marked by many different agendas. These were fundamentally responsive to British interests. Growing up in Scotland exposed the Kindertransportees to a variety of different types of care. These were strongly tied to their Scottish context and mirror experiences of the Scottish child in care. Kindertransportees' nurture invited important changes in their connection to Judaism. Nonetheless, an epitaph to a lost Jewish generation is inappropriate. Zionism emerges as an important Jewish connection. Nevertheless, Kindertransportees did not en-masse adopt Zionist goals or make *Aliyah*. Yet, at the same time, they did not usually remain in Scotland. Resettlement patterns show that there was a mass exodus of Kindertransportees across the Scottish borders. However, these Kindertransportees still exhibit a connection to Scotland as well as to Scottish communities in the diaspora. They express a profound fondness to all things imagined to be Scottish.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis is entirely my own and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signed ……..

1st May 2012

Kind permission has been granted by the 'Kindertransport volume' of the *Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies*, vol.13 for the inclusion in this thesis of my research entitled 'Migration after the Kindertransport: The Scottish legacy?'.

Shofar: An interdisciplinary journal of Jewish studies has granted permission for the inclusion in my appendix of a copy of Frances Williams' review of Emil Fackenheim, 'An Epitaph for German Judaism: From Halle to Jerusalem', *Shofar,* vol.27, 3 (Spring 2009) 173-175.

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Translations

Aliyah	To return to *Eretz Yisrael.*
Aliyah Bet	Illegal immigration.
Bachad	A Zionist youth movement. Abbreviation for Brit Chalutzim Datiim or Union of Religious Pioneers. Bachad incorporates Orthodox observance of religious commandments with Zionist pioneering.
Chalutzic	Preparing members for emigration to Palestine.
Chalutzim	Young pioneers.
Chaverim	Comrades.
Eretz Israel	Pre-state of Israel.
Habonim	A Zionist youth movement. Meaning *The Builders.* Little religious observance encouraged. Characterised by its Socialist Zionist approach.
Hachshara	Agricultural training and *Aliyah* preparation centre for Jewish youth.
Hachsharot	Plural *Hachshara.*
Hashomer Hatzair	A Zionist youth movement. Meaning *The Young Guardsmen.* A politically orientated, far-left, socialist and non-religious Zionist group. At Whittingehame Farm School it was an amalgamation of Dror, Poalei Zion, Hechalutz Hatzair and other smaller far-left groups.
Halutzim	Pioneering generation.
Haluz	Philosophy of pioneering youth movement.
Halutzic	Pioneering ideology.
Hechalutz	A Zionist youth movement. Meaning *The Pioneer.* The worldwide federation of Zionist youth, which supported various youth movements in order to aid their pioneering efforts.
Hevrat noar	Self-governing youth group.
Gar'in	Group of *Olim* who will make *Aliyah* together.

Kashrut	Jewish dietary laws.
Kindertransport	Organised transport of refugee children from Nazi occupied territory to Britain.
Kindertransportees	Minors allocated a place on the *Kindertransport*.
Maccabi Youth	An international Zionist inspired Jewish sports organisation.
Madrich	Youth leader.
Menahel	Director.
Metapelet	Housemother.
Olim	Those who make *Aliyah*.
Yishuv	The pre-state Jewish community in *Eretz Yisrael*.
Zionism	International political movement that originally supported the reestablishment of a homeland for the Jewish People in Palestine.
Israelitische Kultusgemeinde	Jewish Synagogue Association, based in Austria. Aided the IAC by overseeing the organisation and selection process of the Kindertransport in Austria.
Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland	Jewish organistation in Germany. Aided the IAC by overseeing the organisation and selection process of the Kindertransport in Germany.

Abbreviations

Adath	Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations
AJA	Anglo-Jewish Association
AJR	Association of Jewish Refugees
BOD	The Board of Deputies
CBF	Central British Fund
CC	Central Council for German Jewry
CREC	Chief Rabbis' Emergency Council
CRC	Czech Minors' Refugee Committee
ERC	Edinburgh Refugee Committee
FDSC	Frankfurt's Domestic Science College
GJRC	Glasgow Jewish Representative Council
GRC	Glasgow Refugee Committee
IAC	Inter-Aid Committee
JCGR	Jewish Council for German Refugees, Glasgow
JAC	Jewish Agricultural Committee
JECJE	Joint Emergency Committee for Jewish Education
JEC	National Council of Jewish Religious Education
KA	Kindertransport Association
NCS	New Central Synagogue
RCM	Refugee Children's Movement
SCC	Scottish Christian Council for Refugees
SCC	Scottish Christian Council
SED	Scottish Education Department
SNCR	Scottish National Council for Refugees
SRC	Scottish Refugee Centre
TUC	British Trade Union Council
WIZO	Women's International Zionist Organisation

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every step of the way and enabling me to finish every day's work with a smile. Finally, I am forever grateful to Dad for nurturing my dreams and Mum for inspiring them.

Introduction

Historical context

> It is not a small thing, in three years of suffering without parallel, to have given to ten thousand children the opportunity to grow up in an atmosphere of decency and normality, to work, to play, to laugh and to be happy and to assume their rightful heritage as free men and women.[1]

Dorothy Hardisty's confident statement about Britain's humanitarian rescue of 10,000 children provided my first introduction to the 'Kindertransport' episode.[2] Hardisty's congratulatory tone and self-assured belief in the success of the operation provoked a number of questions: Had this rescue operation really provided a better life for 10,000 children? Who were these children? Where were they accomodated in order to guarantee this level of 'decency and normality' and was this even possible during a time of war? At the forefront of this inquiry was whether the children in question shared this optimistic view.

It soon became apparent that many levels of complexity encircle Hardisty's zealous statement. In this context, the word 'Kindertransport' is no longer merely a German noun, describing a transport of children to somewhere at some point in time. It has evolved into a powerful historical term and is understood beyond its German linguistic origins. It infrequently requires translation, is rarely italicised and is commonly stripped of its German pronunciation. Why is this? Adopted by the English language, the Kindertransport now denotes Hardisty's historical episode and this has become synonymous with a part of British and Jewish history.

With this in mind, what was the Kindertransport really all about and who were the children involved? Over 10,000 minors unwittingly became part of this historical episode when they boarded trains from Greater Germany to Britain between December 1938 and September 1939. The unaccompanied minors were of

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[1] Cited in Barry Turner, ... *And the Policeman smiled; 10,000 children escape from Nazi Europe* (London, 1990) 1.

[2] Dorothy Hardisty was the General Secretary of the Refugee Children's Movement (RCM).

various denominations and ranged in age from 1 to 17 years. They did not remain together in Britain, but were distributed far and wide amongst various types of care facilities: hostels, foster homes, boarding schools, convents and residential accommodation on farms.

The transport of minors occurred within a turbulent period of mass migration from Greater Germany and was born from the subsequent immigration policies of Britain in response to this crisis. A migrant problem arose because of the progressively overt anti-Semitic and totalitarian legislation implemented within the Third Reich in the 1930s.[3] Following the acquisition of political power by Adolf Hitler in 1933, legislation progressively stripped Jews and dissidents of their civil liberties, culminating in the Nuremberg Laws of 1935. Their social ostracism reached a climax during a state-condoned pogrom on 9 and 10 November 1938, later known as *Kristallnacht* or 'night of broken glass'. By 1938 the pressure for entry permits to Britain was already extensive; following the annexation of Austria in 1938 and later the Sudetenland in 1939, the number of people seeking migration permits grew to new and unprecedented levels.

Britain's approach to tackling the migrant problem from Greater Germany led to the Kindertransport scheme. The legislative response was not informed by altruistic motivates but driven by fundamental concerns to protect British interests and preserve the status quo. These concerns developed pre-existing legislation that had aimed to curtail the influx of undesirable migrants. Pressure groups including the main institutions of Anglo-Jewry were not opposed to the anti-alien nature of the British Government's immigration policies.

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[3] See Richard Steigmann-Gall, 'Religion and the churches', in Jane Caplan (ed.), *Nazi Germany; Short Oxford History of Germany* (Oxford, 2008) 162; Nikolaus Wachsmann, 'The Policy of exclusion: repression in the Nazi State, 1933-1939', in Caplan (ed.), *Nazi Germany,* 122-143; Sarah Gordon, *Hitler, Germans and the "Jewish Question" (*Princeton, 1984); Marion Kaplan, *Between dignity and despair: Jewish life in Nazi Germany* (New York, 1998).); Kaplan, *Jewish Daily Life in Germany 1618-194 (*Oxford, 2005); Nicholas Stargardt, *Witnesses of War: Children's lives under the Nazis (*London, 2005); Jill Stephenson, 'Nazism, Modern War and Rural Society in Wurttemberg, 1939-45', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 32, 3 (July, 1997) 339-356.

This policy remained primarily self-regarding rather than other-regarding.[4] Representative bodies of Anglo-Jewry often sought influence over immigration responses to German-Jewish migrants in order to help prevent a Jewish problem arising in Britain. This primarily intended to protect their community's position in Britain.[5] Tony Kushner draws similar links between Anglo-Jewry's immigration policy and the 'emancipation contract'.[6] The 'emancipation contract', Kushner explains, was an unwritten agreement or code of conduct formed between Anglo-Jewry and the British Government or nation as a whole. This required Jews to observe inconspicuous secular lifestyles in exchange for emancipation. This policy discouraged any special categorisation or recognition of Jewish migrants as members of a Jewish nation or 'race'. To uphold this contract, it was important for Anglo-Jewry to remain at the forefront of discussions concerning Jewish immigration policy and protocol in the 1930s. Anglo-Jewry possessed two highly centralised communal institutions: The Board of Deputies (BOD), who represented the national interest of Jews in Britain, and the Anglo-Jewish Association (AJA), who dealt with international affairs and regional institutions that supplied welfare to the community.[7] Anglo-Jewry also developed a number of specifically migrant-orientated representative institutions: the Central British Fund (CBF), the Central Council for German Jewry (CC), later becoming the Central Council for Jewish Refugees, and the Inter-Aid Committee (IAC).[8]

Anglo-Jewry's institutions co-ordinated efforts in order to take their proposals for tackling immigration from Greater Germany to Parliament. The events of *Kristallnacht* spurred these developments on. With the help of Lord Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, on 15 November 1938 they succeeded in orchestrating a preliminary meeting with the Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain to discuss a new

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[4] Geoffrey Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare, 1911-1949', *Twentieth Century British History,* vol.1, 2 (1990) 184.
[5] See Richard Bolchover, *British Jewry and the Holocaust* (Oxford, 2003); David Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford, 1990).
[6] Tony Kushner and K. Lunn (eds), *Traditions of Intolerance: Historical Perspectives on Fascism and Race Discourse in Britain* (Manchester, 1989) 11.
[7] Cesarani, *Modern Anglo-Jewry,* 115.
[8] See Turner, *And the Policeman smiled*.

approach to immigration protocol.[9] Policy proposals were then taken to the Cabinet for discussion the following day, after which they were presented to the House of Commons for approval.[10] On 21 November Hoare announced the new immigration policy. This broke from previous immigration protocol based on a visa system and established new terms and conditions for entry to Britain.[11]

The crux of the new approach was the concept of the 'trans-migrant'. The trans-migrant emerged from a loophole in the pre-existing system by being based on migrants in transit or temporary refuge in Britain before imminent re-migration abroad. The trans-migrant was perceived as a less troublesome migrant.[12] The conditions of entry were still bolted to the notion of the 'desirable' migrant, but catered for the 'refugee', a term that did not yet exist in British immigration legislation.[13] It was within this loophole that the Kindertransport took shape.

Within the framework of the trans-migrant, block visas were issued which were based on a number of defined categories for admittance. Louise London has noted six defined categories: emigrants in transit, trainees, domestics, people over sixty, Czechs, and men bound for the Richborough transit camp.[14] Within these distinctions were differentiations between short-term and long-term migrants, but neither allowed permanent entry to Britain. This approach intended to tackle the backlog of applications for entry permits by essentially cutting protocol and speeding up the process of allocating entry permits to suitable candidates. The block visas enabled entry to Britain based on a list of names and the subsequent possession of identity cards, rather than each individual gaining a visa.

The Kindertransports were orchestrated by utilising the trans-migrant legal framework and subsequent block visa system. This made use of categories enabling youth migration based predominantly on education or training. Subsequently, the

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[9] PRO/FO/371/22536/250ff, 16 November 1938, cited in Louise London, 'Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy, 1930-1940', in Cesarani (ed.), *Modern Anglo-Jewry*, 180.
[10] PRO/CAB/23/96, 16 November 1938, (Cabinet conclusions, 55(38)5), cited in London, 'Jewish Refugees', 180.
[11] *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 November 1938, cited in London, 'British government policy and Jewish refugees, 1933-1945', *Patterns of Prejudice,* vol.23 (1989/90) 32.
[12] Anonymous, *A Defence of the Alien Immigrant* (London, 1904) 9.
[13] See London, *Patterns of Prejudice;* London, 'Jewish Refugees'.
[14] London, 'Jewish Refugees', 181.

scheme required that the migrants were below 17 years of age and underscored the imminence of their re-migration. The scheme was placed under the jurisdiction of a collection of institutions united under the umbrella organisation of the CC in Bloomsbury House, London. Within this body, the IAC were given responsibility for the selection process and afforded 1,000 'non-guaranteed' places per month along with an initial unlimited number of 'guaranteed' places. Non-guaranteed minors were incorporated within the pre-existing umbrella guarantee of 1936 given by the CBF for all Jewish migrants entering Britain at this time.[15]

'Guaranteed' minors were required to receive a £50 deposit to cover re-migration from Britain. A large variety of personages, groups and institutions worked to organise these guarantees. Working within Bloomsbury House, the IAC provided guarantees for 431 minors, the RCM provided a group guarantee for 3,000 minors and Youth Aliyah (a Zionist organisation aiming to train Jewish youth for return to *Eretz Yisrael* and life on a *Kibbutz*) sponsored entry permits for a further 700 minors.[16] Kindertransportees were also sponsored by organisations outside the realms of Bloomsbury House. Rabbi Schonfeld independently led the efforts of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregation and sponsored an estimated 100 Orthodox minors.[17] Scottish Kindertransportees also record being sponsored by Austrian Self Aid, Hechalutz, Bachad, the Church of Scotland, small congregations situated across Britain and of various denominations, Jewish Refugee Committees from outside of Scotland, such as Leeds, as well as the *Jewish Chronicle* and Leith Holiday Homes.[18]

Despite the loopholes of the block visa system, the selection process by which the minors were to be admitted to the scheme was time consuming, wrapped with red tape and strict protocol. Various bodies aided the work of the IAC in the organisational process. The Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland and the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde (Jewish Synagogue Association), from Germany and

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[15] Bolchover, *British Jewry,* 70.
[16] Turner, *And the Policeman smiled*, 75; Claudio Curio, '"Invisible" minors; The selection and integration strategies of relief organisations', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23 (Fall, 2004) 44.
[17] Turner, *And the Policeman smiled,* 75.
[18] Kindertransport Association/Association of Jewish Refugees, Worldwide Questionnaire and database. Scottish statisitics are based on 87 respondents who were placed in Scotland out of 1026 returned questionnaires (KA:QU/SUP).

Austria respectively, were responsible for allocating places on transports to minors. In Czechoslovakia this was organised by the independent efforts of the Czech Minors' Refugee Committee and individuals, such as Nicholas Winton.[19] Additional Jewish and non-Jewish institutions were also involved in finding suitable minors for the transports.

Upon arrival in Britain, the vast and ever increasing numbers of dependent trans-migrants required a new nationwide philanthropic strategy to prevent them becoming a burden on the wider British society. This led to the establishment of a centralised philanthropic organisation, which would oversee a nationwide welfare network. Central bodies established a 'system of decentralisation on the lines of the Government Civil Defence Scheme', initially with 12 regional headquarters being established across Britain.[20] Finlayson's research reveals the similarity of this approach to those shifts occurring in the philanthropic welfare structure in Britain per se.[21] He refers to this process as one of an ongoing 'moving frontier'. The process, which tended to graduate towards a centralised system, amalgamated many different organisations, committees and personages. This intended to form a uniform blanket of welfare and philanthropic support across Britain. The result was a political shift as jurisdiction moved from the local or regional level to the national. The process was also partnered with the transition of power moving from a smaller voluntary sector to larger state-governed or bureaucratically founded organisations.

As a result, upon arrival, the Kindertransportees were received by a new hierarchical bureaucratic philanthropic system.[22] Anglo-Jewry established the CC to direct and manage the reception of migrants from Greater Germany into Britain. This was based at The Central Office for Refugees, Bloomsbury House, London.[23] The CC was an umbrella organisation, which incorporated many different philanthropic bodies from across Britain, including Jewish, Quaker and Christian. It also shared its head office with a large number of international philanthropic

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[19] See Muriel Emmanuel and Vera Gissing, *Nicholas Winton and the Rescued Generation* (England, 1982); see also list of Kindertransportees brought over by Nicholas Winton, http://www.just-powell.co.uk/winton/list.htm.
[20] HLSC/MS183/384/folder 3, Booklet of Central Council, 1939.
[21] Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier', 183-206.
[22] See appendices 3 and 4.
[23] HLSC/MS183/384/F1.

organisations for Jewish trans-migrants including Youth Aliyah and Bachad. In doing so, the CC was able to maximise its resources and capability to adhere to its guarantee for trans-migrants. The CC established a number of sub-departments within Bloomsbury House, such as the Agricultural Committee, to respond to the trans-migrants' specific needs in Britain. The Refugee Children's Movement (RCM) was specifically responsible for the social welfare of the trans-migrant minors in Britain and the Kindertransportees fell under its jurisdiction. The RCM utilised the CC's regional bases for managing the Kindertransportees across Britain. Two councils were formed in Scotland, the Jewish Council for German Refugees (JCGR) in Glasgow and the Scottish National Council for Refugees (SNCR) in Edinburgh. These councils were responsible for overseeing the activities of 10 committees located across Scotland.[24] In Glasgow, for example, these included the Glasgow Refugee Committee (GRC) and the Glasgow Children's Aid Committee (GCAC). Edinburgh also possessed committees, most notably the Edinburgh Refugee Committee (ERC).

This centralised and nationwide formation of a welfare network encroached on the pre-existing Jewish philanthropic networks.[25] These were not commercially orientated or state led, but operated within a localised welfare arena, which was regionally fragmented. In Glasgow, the local welfare network was relatively united by 1939. The Glasgow Jewish Board of Guardians (GJBG) and the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council (JRC) collectively supervised the pre-existing welfare system at 52 Thistle Street, Gorbals. The GJBG/JRC oversaw a network of community-based activities, undertaken by many different individuals, groups and organisations on a local level. By the 1930s, this was, as Collins argues, a very united social welfare network and support structure.[26] The CC utilised Scotland's established welfare facilities, its fundraising capabilities and philanthropic organisations.[27] In doing so, the centralised and nationwide bureaucratic welfare network under the jurisdiction of the CC was imposed upon the pre-existing voluntary sector.

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[24] *Ibid.*: Scotland was designated region 11, with committees established in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Ayr, Dundee, Perth and St Andrews.
[25] See appendix 5.
[26] See Collins, *Glasgow Jewry*; Collins, *Second City Jewry*.
[27] *Jewish Echo*, 10 February 1939: these included the Senior Women Zionists, Hadassah, and the Garnethill Women's Zionist Society.

By the close of 1939 an estimated 9,354 minors had arrived in Britain.[28] The first transport of minors took place on 1 December 1938 and consisted of 196 orphans. Following this, an average of 300 minors arrived each week until September 1939. The last transport arrived from Holland in 1940. Upon arrival guaranteed minors were usually dispatched to one of London's main railway stations and on to pre-arranged destinations; non-guaranteed minors were usually sent to reception camps on the south coast of England.[29] The dissemination of minors in both cases was predominantly short-term and led to multiple moves. As a result, in both scenarios Scotland's Kindertransportees had often experienced care in England before or after their arrival in Scotland.

Historiographical objectives and literature overview

A key objective of this thesis is to break open the perimeters that have surrounded this research topic and in doing so to challenge entrenched ideas about the Kindertransport episode. It intends to tackle problems and holes that have afflicted its historiography. At the heart of these issues lies the prevalence of the British-English Kindertransport story. This has allowed sweeping generalisations and a void in understanding of the regional experiences of the Kindertransportees. This research project places discussions within a narrower geographic and demographic context to avoid these problems. It hopes to remedy a critical hole in Kindertransport historiography, namely the Kindertransport story of Scotland.

Scotland played an important role in the reception, care and resettlement story of the Kindertransportees, one that has too often been overlooked. Scotland received an estimated 8% of the minors, yet new research continues to marginalise the presence of a Scottish experience amongst Kindertransportees.[30] Vera Fast's new publication, *Children's Exodus; A History of the Kindertransport*, makes scant reference to Scotland and at one point concludes that the Kindertransportees were

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[28] Turner, *And the Policeman smiled,* 105.
[29] Reception camps included Dovercourt and Lowestoft; See Curio, '"Invisible" children', 46.
[30] KA:QU/SUP.

indeed the 'strangers within (England's) gates'.[31] Fast fails to provide any detailed information about the varied regional experience in Britain and refers to northern placements as those located in the English midlands. Ruth Barnett's evaluation of experiences of 'acculturation of the Kindertransport minors' actually refers to the national portrait in terms of 'England' and ignores the role of Scotland, Ireland and Wales in this historical episode.[32] This problem has plagued the Kindertransport episode since its conception in 1938. The German Jewish Aid Committee even entitled its published pamphlet for refugee etiquette, 'While you are in England'.[33]

In the wake of the 50th anniversary, Scotland's Kindertransportees chose to form their own commemorative organisation, establishing SAROK in 1989, in an effort to prevent the marginalisation of Scotland's Kindertransport story. However, this remained primarily commemorative, focusing on reuniting the 'Scottish contingent'.[34] Rosa Sacherin, a surviving Scottish Kindertransportee and former archivist at Glasgow's Jewish Archives, produced a small commemorative booklet for SAROK.[35] In this, she argues for the need to rectify the prevailing absence of research on the Scottish experience of Kindertransportees. Sacherin continued to try to remedy this hole when she compiled a collection of testimonies from Scottish Kindertransportees.[36] However, both efforts are limited in detail and lack any historical reference or analysis.

The popularity of a national portrait has invited an unbalanced body of scholarly work on the Kindertransport, which focuses on the English-London experience. Past MA and PhD studies have commonly presented a broad national

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[31] Vera Fast, *Children's Exodus; A History of the Kindertransport* (London, 2011) 40.

[32] Ruth Barnett, 'The Acculturation of the Kindertransport Minors: Intergenerational Dialogue on the Kindertransport Experience'*, Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, 23 (2004), 100-110.

[33] HL/MS183/132/4, n.d.

[34] Rosa Sacherin, 'SAROK: A history of the Kindertransport in Scotland' (unpublished booklet) 21.

[35] See Susan Kleinman and Chana Moshenska, 'Class as a Factor in the Social Adaptation of the Kindertransport Kinder', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23 (Fall, 2004) 28-40; Sacherin, 'SAROK'.

[36] SJA/Sacherin's collection of Scottish testimonies; Scottish Annual Reunion of Kinder: Recollections of Child Refugees from 1938 to the Present. (Glasgow 1999).

approach, while at the same time offering evaluations that have been drawn from a narrow London experience.[37] Turner's comprehensive investigation into the Kindertransport in Britain focuses on London, along with a select few Jewish hubs in England.[38]

Tackling the Scottish Kindertransport story will also be valuable to its enveloping historiographies. The Kindertransport story has become victim to competing narratives. These have increasingly reduced discussions to monolithic arguments for or against the success of the experiment that was the Kindertransport. These have failed to take in the broader picture. This has led to evaluations of the episode in an isolated bubble, which present it as a disconnected unique historical phenomenon. The Kindertransportees' experiences pre- and post-migration varied enormously. However, one distinctive aspect to their lives in Scotland was the symmetry they shared with the wider community of Britons. Their reception and care in Scotland was not isolated from the surrounding context and circumstances in Scotland, but was primarily responsive to these factors. This directly attached them to enveloping circumstances that shaped Scottish day-to-day life at the time.

Anglo-Jewry and the Scottish Jewish communities in the region played a central role in the Kindertransportees' reception, care and resettlement experience in Scotland. However the geographic boundaries of Anglo-Jewish historiography have also tended to remain limited in scope and within the perimeters of England. National portraits appear ignorant of the existence of a significant number of vibrant Jewish commuities in Scotland and their relevance to the history of Jews in Britain.[39] This has invited sweeping generalisations. Stephen Brook's *The Club* provides a blinkered insight into Anglo-Jewry by offering broad evaluations based on the generalisation of regional scenarios and pervading stereotypes.[40]

The preference for a national discussion about Anglo-Jewry has focused on

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[37] E. Baumel, 'The Jewish Refugee Children in Great Britain 1938-1945', Unpublished MA thesis (Bar-Ilan University, 1981); Claudio Curio, 'Verfolgung, Flucht, Retung; Die Kindertransporte 1938/39 nach GroBbritannien', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Berlin, 2006).

[38] Turner, *And the Policeman smiled*.

[39] See Jewish Care Scotland (website for the Jewish community in Scotland) http://www.jcarescot.org.uk/jewishcarewho.asp.

[40] See Stephen Brook, *The Club: The Jews of modern Britain* (London, 2000).

general trends found within a few central hubs of Jewish life in England. In the same manner as broad Kindertransport narratives, this has predominantly reverted back to a history of London's Jewry and this tends to focus on the East End of London. Cesarani argues that the root of the problem afflicting Anglo-Jewry's historiography is the centralised nature of the political and religious life of its institutions.[41] Kushner's consideration of 'the impact of British anti-Semitism' on Anglo-Jewry during the Second World War does not offer any detailed information about the Scottish scenario and instead apologetically highlights the events predominantly within the framework of the Jewish East End.[42] Steinberg's research of Jewish education during this period attempts to draw a national picture, but again focuses on the East End experience.[43] Heppell's reference to the East End of London as the 'heart of Anglo-Jewry' underlines the prevalent presentation of Anglo-Jewry based on generalisations drawn from one community in London.[44]

London's monopoly on Anglo-Jewish historiography has led to neglect of the provinces' regional Jewish hubs. Bill Williams's work on Manchester's Jewry is an excellent example of the success of regional studies that break from the British narrative and exclude London.[45] However, it is also an example of the preference, when regional research is produced, to revert to concentrated studies of a select few large hubs of Jewish life: London, Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow. This has allowed Glasgow's Jewry to dominate Scottish Jewish historiography and virtually exclude smaller Scottish Jewish communities. Braber has developed the historiography of the Glasgow community and offered important insights into its political and socio-economic dynamics.[46] Unfortunately, Braber's important contribution is very narrow in scope and is not useful for understanding aspects

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[41] Cesarani, *Modern Anglo-Jewry*, 118.
[42] Tony Kushner, 'The impact of British anti-Semitism, 1918-1945', in Cesarani (ed.), *Modern Anglo-Jewry*, 115-137.
[43] Bernard Steinberg, 'Jewish Education in Great Britain during World War II', *Jewish Social Studies*, vol.29, 1 (January, 1967).
[44] Jason L. Heppell, 'A Rebel, not a Rabbi: Jewish Membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain', *Twentieth Century British History,* vol.15, 1 (2004) 28-50.
[45] Bill Williams, *The Making of the Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester, 1976).
[46] Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939; immigration and integration* (London, 2007).

beyond the geographic circumference of Glasgow.

The large voids within Scottish Jewish historiography have encouraged a prevalence of broad research projects. These adopt large timescales and are unable to make more detailed analysis. Collins's collection of studies into aspects of Glasgow's Jewish history, along with Harvey Kaplan's narrative of Glasgow Jewish journeys, adopt a wide time frame and offer little detailed information about Glasgow's Jewry during the Second World War.[47]

With attention predominantly limited to Glasgow, Scotland's smaller Jewish communities are almost without historical record. Nathan Abrams has taken steps to ameliorate this historical void.[48] Abrams details Jewish life in smaller community hubs across Scotland. However, he is tackling such a vast project that he can only offer limited analysis. He is unable to offer any specific evaluation of Scottish Jewish life during the war years.

This situation has meant that Scotland's second largest Jewish settlement in Edinburgh lacks analytical regional research. Howard Denton and Jim Wilson's *The Happy Land* and David Daiches' *Two Worlds* both present autobiographical narratives of the community.[49] However, as autobiographies they do not offer any insight into aspects of Edinburgh's Jewry outside of their particular social circles. Furthermore, Denton and Daiches offer two very different portraits of the communities and their dynamics, and these both fail to provide any detailed historical framework. There is also no bridging link between Edinburgh and Glasgow, or other Scottish Jewish communities.

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[47] Kenneth Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry (*Glasgow, 1987); Collins*, Second City Jewry; the Jews of Glasgow in the age of expansion, 1790-1919 (*Glasgow, 1990); Collins*, Glasgow Jewry: A guide to the History and Community of the Jews in Glasgow (*Glasgow, 1993); Collins, 'Orthodoxy and Reform: Differing Practices in a Glasgow Jewish Victorian Family', *Korot: the Israel Journal of the History of Medicine and Science,* vol.11 (1995) 54-65; Collins, *Scotland's Jews; A guide to the History and Community of the Jews in Scotland (*Glasgow, 1999); Collins, *Be Well!; Jewish Immigrant Health and Welfare in Glasgow, 1860-1914 (*East Lothian, 2001); Harvey Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901*, SJAC (Glasgow, 2006); Kaplan, *Glasgow Jewish Journeys* (not stated); Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*.

[48] Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews; A study of seven small communities in Scotland* (London, 2009).

[49] Howard Denton, and Jim C. Wilson, *The Happy Land (*Edinburgh, 1991); David Daiches, *Two Worlds (*Edinburgh, 1957).

The historiography of refugee life in Britain during and after the Second World War is also noticeably void of Scottish research. Eugene Black's review of *Men of Vision* by Zahl Gottlieb points to the problem of the consistent focus on the English response to the needs of refugees.[50] Berghahn's work on London's refugee community underlines the lack of any comprehensive social history for the refugee experience of resettlement in Scotland.[51] Rainer Kölmel does offer an important study into the resettlement of refugees in Glasgow, but this is limited in scope and focuses on the adult and independent refugees.[52]

Within refugee literature, there remains a lack of research available on the child migrant. Marianne Kröger draws attention in her work to the failure to account for the child-exile's experiences within refugee historiography.[53] Kröger argues that in 'the century of the refugee', the relevance of the child refugee is unquestionable in the writing of history. Berger also points to the important position of Kindertransportees' written memoirs and testimonies in literacy history of the Holocaust.[54] The Kindertransportees' experiences are important, if only because their lives as refugees in Scotland were very different to the adults and independent young migrants. These links make it even more critical not to isolate evaluations of the Kindertransport, but instead to place them within wider overarching historiographies. Collaborative considerations of the Kindertransport with experiences of Basque refugee children in Britain, may, for example, strengthen our understanding of what was unique or not about their experiences.

The role of gender in the Kindertransportees' experiences in Scotland is another important element of this historical episode, which has had minimal

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[50] Eugene Black, review of Amy Zahl Gottlieb, 'Men of Vision: Anglo-Jewry's Aid to Victims of the Nazi Regime, 1933-1945', in *American Historical Review*, vol. 105, 5 (December, 2000) 1805-1806.

[51] Marion Berghahn, *Continental Britons; German-Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 1984).

[52] Rainer Kölmel, 'Problems of Settlement; German-Jewish Refugees in Scotland', in Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain; Refugees from Hitler's Germany* (London, 1984) 251.

[53] Marianne Kröger, 'Child Exiles: New Research Area?', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23 (Fall, 2004) 9.

[54] Alan L. Berger, 'Jewish Identity and Jewish Destiny, the Holocaust in Refugee Writing: Lore Segal and Karen Gershon', *Studies in American Jewish Literature,* vol.11, 1 (1992) 84.

scholarly attention. Silvia Pedraza notes in her work on 'Women and Migration' that the relevance of gender in migratory choices is 'totally neglected' despite the 'overwhelming presence of women in migration flows'.[55] M. Boyd refers to this situation as a prevalence of indifference to the relevance of gender.[56] Wendy Ugolini has also stressed the prevalent neglect of a cross-gender approach to studies of wartime experiences on the homefront, especially amongst enemy alien females.[57] Gender was relevant not only to the migratory patterns of the minors but also their experiences of care provisions, including education, training and placement.

Research on the Kindertransport also lacks a comprehensive evaluation of the bureaucratic and administrative institutions operating within the welfare systems. This is particularly important in understanding their role in organising the reception and care of the minors regionally. Kleinman and Moshenska have both contributed smaller studies to this aspect within England, but there is no comprehensive British analysis of the working of the welfare networks or reflection upon how these networks linked to regional operations.

I also wish to trespass tentatively upon sociologists' and psychologists' territory. Psychoanalysts have previously monopolised research concerning an individual's experience of an event, but fail to place this within a historical context. As Paul Thompson has argued, it is important to place oral sources in their broader context in order not to 'loose important sections of the historical picture'.[58] Their work also tends to be restricted to the adult figure in later life, rather than the child in the historical context. Kröger has argued that psychoanalysts focus attention on trauma in adults in consequence to life experiences.[59]

However, this research objective is not seeking to produce a psychohistory of the episode. Jacques Barzun, Geraldine Clifford, T.G. Ashplant and Robert Brugger

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[55] Silvia Pedraza, 'Women and Migration: The Social Consequences of Gender', *Annual Review of Sociology,* vol.17, (1991) 303.
[56] M. Boyd, 'Family and personal networks in international migration: recent developments and new agendas', *International Migration Review,* vol.23 (1989) 638-70.
[57] Wendy Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy 'OTHER': Recovering the World War Two, Narratives of Italian Scottish Women', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, vol.24.2 (2004) 139, 156.
[58] Paul Thomson, *The Voice of the past: Oral History* (New York, 1978) 298.
[59] Kröger, 'Child Exiles', 14.

have all outlined the extensive demands of doing psychohistory for the historian.[60] This is because psychohistory requires an equal measure of psychoanalysis as it does historical analysis. This demands that historians 'plumb the unconscious' and utilise specilist skills from an alternative discipline. I am not seeking to apply Freudian psychoanalytic theory or terminology. Instead, I will focus on the life histories that the Kindertransportees have themselves constructed and place these within their historical context. This will make use of personal narratives of the Kindertransportees. This endeavour does invite methodological problems, especially when considering emotive memories or feelings of distress.[61]

Methodological approach

In order to understand both the event and the experience, it is essential to use a careful balance of methodological approaches. This thesis uses a broad range of historical sources and methods. This has included a substantial body of information from a range of archives: Edinburgh's Salisbury Road Synagogue's archive, Haddington's local archive, Glasgow's Jewish archives, Southampton's Hartley Library Special Collection, Yad Vashem of Israel, the Wiener Library's collection in London, archives of the Holocaust Museum in Washington DC, the Leo Baeck and YIVO Centre for Jewish History in New York and material gathered from New York's public archives. Material that has been gathered in these archives includes minute papers, official correspondence, newspapers, private letters, diaries, memoirs, oral testimonies, film, photographs and pamphlets.

My research also includes new material, which has never previously been used. I have fortunately been granted access to a number of private collections. These have enriched and added depth to the material gathered in the public archives. Most notable is the collection of Ester Golan, which includes school journals, diaries,

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[60] Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, review of Sudhir Kakar, 'Frederick Taylor: A Study in Personality and Innovation', *History of Education Quarterly,* vol. 11, 4 (Winter, 1971) 413-425; T. G. Ashplant, review of Peter Gay, 'Freud for Historians'*, History Workshop*, vol.27 (Spring, 1989) 205-207; Robert J. Brugger, review of Jacques Barzun, 'Clio and the Doctors: Psycho-History, Quanto-History & History', *The Business History Review*, vol. 49, 3 (Autumn, 1975) 362-364.

[61] See Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London, 2010).

newspaper clippings and questionnaires. I have also used Mike Challis's large collection of photographs, film and private letters of his late uncle William Farrington Drew, a teacher at Whittingehame Farm School. This includes an archive of over 400 photographic negatives, which were taken during Drew's years at Whittingehame. Surviving Kindertransportees have also been kind enough to share personal diaries, correspondence and letters during the war, as well as other records of their broader life stories. New correspondence with Kindertransportees has also provided a new body of written memoirs and correspondence about their experiences.

New oral testimonies have been used to complement this large collection of printed sources. I have conducted 30 interviews with Kindertransportees formerly placed in Scotland who are now located across the world: Britain, United States, Israel and New Zealand. A large number of previously compiled interviews have also been used: Kean College New Jersey Collection, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, the Slate collection, all within Washington DC's Holocaust Museum's archive, the Wiener Library's compilation of Bea Leckowitz's 150 child exile interviews and the Imperial War Museum's Oral History Collection, both in London.

I have also had unique access to the new and extensive body of compiled questionnaires of the Kindertransport Association (KA) and the Association of Jewish Refugees (AJR). In 2006 and 2007, I worked for the KA in association with the AJR to create a questionnaire for all surviving Kindertransportees across the world.[62] This was disseminated to 2,000 Kindertransportees. 1,025 completed questionnaires were returned to us. This resource has provided a new insight into the minors' personal experiences along with their broader life stories. The completed questionnaires contained multiple-choice answers to a range of questions and have also provided a large body of new memoirs.

The new data provided within the questionnaires has provided me with previously inaccessible statistical information. This has enabled me to understand patterns that overarched the individual experience. To best utilise this new resource we decided, with funding from the AJR, to formulate an extensive statistical

[62] See appendix 1.

database.[63] Within this database, I imputed over 250 information columns for the 1,025 entries. These resources now enable quantitative analysis of overarching aspects of the Kindertransport as well as of specific case studies. It has allowed me to ask and answer questions that were previously inaccessible: care placement ratios, religious affiliation averages and migratory patterns. One can now assess, for example, the percentage of Scotland's Kindertransportees who were fostered whilst in Britain and, of those who were fostered, how many experienced this form of care in England or Scotland. 63% of Scotland's Kindertransportees experienced foster care in Britain. Of these, only 58% experienced this form of care within Scotland.

The database's ability to offer new statistical answers to research questions is already correcting existing misinformation that plagues the Kindertransport historiography. One example includes Wolfgang Benz's and Andrea Hammel's study into the trauma associated with the Kindertransport experience. This reiterated the widely held misconception that 'nine out of ten' Kindertransportees did not see their parents again.[64] This particular notion is especially problematic because it has far reaching implications on discussions about broader life stories and the impact of the Kindertransport on the minors' lives. The database shows that 46% of Kindertransportees were reunited with at least one parent, a vast difference to 10%.[65] Of these 46%, 64% were reunited with both parents. These statistics dramatically transform the outlook of the Kindertransportees' experiences.

Comparisons may also now be drawn between the experiences of minors in Scotland with those in other regions. This has not only allowed new analysis of the Kindertransport in Britain, but also provided access to regional and local variations in experience. The level of Jewish foster homes for Kindertransportees, for example, may be compared in terms of a national or regional picture. The database reveals that in Scotland, of those who were fostered 66% were placed in Jewish homes. In comparison, the national statistic is 30%. This reveals that Kindertransportees in different regions had very different religious care experiences.

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[63] See appendix 2.

[64] Wolfgang Benz and Andrea Hammel, 'Emigration as Rescue and Trauma: The Historical Context of the Kindertransport', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23. 1 (Fall, 2004) 4.

[65] KA:QU/SUP.

Nevertheless, the new database is not without methodological issues. Despite the database being, perhaps, the most thorough statistical attempt to collect data from surviving Kindertransportees, it does still possess representative limitations. Questionnaires were sent to all Kindertransportee members of the KA and the AJR. Recipients or second-generation relatives were also asked to complete a supplementary questionnaire about any other known Kindertransportee. Representative limitations are due in part to the problem that a large number of Kindertransportees are deceased or ill, while others are unwilling to participate or unaware of current research and are not members of the KA or AJR. An important example of the latter includes the ultra-Orthodox community, which tends not to maintain links to non-Orthodox or non-Jewish communities or research activities. However, the majority of ultra-Orthodox or strict Orthodox care schemes were based in London, under the auspices of Adath or CREC. This meant that few ultra-Orthodox Kindertransportees were sent to Scotland. Nonetheless, only 1025 recipients responded to the questionnaire, which suggests that the database represents around 10% of Kindertransportees. Therefore, although these new statistics are reflective of a wide collection of Kindertransportees, there are voids of information and they do not include all Kindertransportees.

However, the database is not only useful for satistical analysis, but also makes it possible to locate Kindertransportees from specific geographic areas for oral history research. 87 were found to have spent time during the Second World War in Scotland. Within this framework particular care scenarios could be investigated to gather a robust oral history record of the Kindertransportees' experiences in Scotland. Interviews have subsequently been undertaken with a range of Kindertransportees who experienced different living scenarios in Scotland: hostels, foster care, evacuation, pre-*hachsharot* (agricultural training farms for Zionist youth wishing to emigrate to Eretz Yisrael and found a Kibbutz) training, as well as various employment placements and social or economic lifestyles.

Despite these methodological opportunities, much of the focus of this evaluation is residential care, rather than foster care. This is largely due to methodological practicalities and limitations. There exists a large body of personal journals, school diaries and letters from Scotland's residential facilities. These

sources provide an unusual insight into the day-to-day personal lives of the Kindertransportees. I have not found a comparable archive for Kindertransportees in foster care on a case by case basis. These archives will be used in conjunction with new oral testimonies to draw light upon the individual's story.

Oral history proved to be an invaluable methodological tool for this research project. Geoffrey Hartman refers to the benefits of oral history as being derived from its ability to 'open the book'.[66] Hartman has argued that 'personal factors infuse and individualise' testimonies in a positive and useful way.[67] Alessandro Postelli explains that 'oral histroy tells us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did'.[68] In doing so, as Donald Ritchie argues, oral history can 'remedy blind spots'.[69] Oral history gives access to otherwise inaccessible areas of investigation for the historian. For example, Kindertransportees' testimonies provide an insight into both the event and the experience. They can highlight not only an individual's complex and diverse experience of an event, but also the relationship of this experience with broader life stories.

Nevertheless, methodological complexities and issues can also encircle the use of oral history. Lynn Abrams has noted seven issues for consideration when using forms of oral history, namely 'orality', 'narrative', 'performance', 'subjectivity', 'memory', 'mutibility' and 'collboration'.[70] Distrust of oral history usually derides from its reliance on memory, which is perceived as unreliable.[71] Summerfield calls this the 'traditional perspective' of oral history, which emphasises the unreliable nature of oral histroy compared to documents because of its reliance on memory.[72] In 1986, the *Jerusalem Post* reported that Yad Vashem's archive

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[66] Geoffrey Hartman, *The Longest Shadow* (New York, 2002) 136.
[67] *Ibid.* 133.
[68] Alessandro Portelli, 'What makes oral history different', in Robert Perks and Alaistair Thomson (eds), *Oral Histroy Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998) 67.
[69] Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2003)
[70] Abrams, *Oral History,* 19, 21, 22, 23, 24.
[71] *Ibid*. 5.
[72] Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure', 65; see also Eric Hobsbawm, *On History* (London, 1997); Alistair Thomson, 'Unreliable Memories: The Use and Abuse of Oral History', in W. Lamond (ed.), *Historical Controversies* (London, 1998).

director believed most of the 20,000 testimonies collected were unreliable, because the basis of testimonies was on memory.[73] However, as Abrams stresses, a large extent of documented sources found in archives, such as minute notes and reports, have also been derived from memory after the event.[74] Furthermose, as T.G. Ashplant argues, 'inaccuracies, hesitations and silences' as well as disparities in accounts, structure, language and approach are all 'potentially revealing'.[75]

The type of narrative that is offered by an interviewee can vary enormously and have a significant impact on the perception of the historical event. The varied outcome of testimonies can be the result of the collaborative role played by the historian/interviewer in the process of doing oral history. John Tosh and Portelli have both warned of the role of the interviewer upon the interviewee.[76] Abrams and Portelli argue that the historian in doing oral history becomes a 'ventriloquist', 'director' and editor.[77] Portelli believes that the 'knowledgeable interviewer, interfering interviewer or dissenting interviewer' encourages certain responses.[78] This means that a unique dialogue is formed within each interview, dependent on interviewer as well as interviewee.

My personal role as interviewer did impact upon my interviews with Kindertransportees. This was most keenly felt in regards to the personal contact I had with interviewees during the process of organising and doing the interview. Kindertransportees frequently expressed a keen hospitality and desire to invest a long-term maternal or paternal role in my project. Standing at 5.4 foot and possessing an arguably young appearance, I found that interviewees often received me as a young novice historian who required direction and care. This seemed to lead interviewees to approach storytelling in a manner that they may have adopted

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[73] Barbara Amougal, 'Doubts over Evidence of Camp survivors', *Jerusalem Post*, 17 August 1986, 1.
[74] Abrams, *Oral History,* 23.
[75] T.G.Ashplant, 'Anecdote as narrative resource in working-class life stories; Parody, Dramatization and sequence', in Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson (eds), *Narrative and Genre* (London, 1990) 99.
[76] John Tosh, *The pursuit of history* (Harlow, 2006) 303; Portelli, 'What makes oral history different', 71.
[77] Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London, 2010) 24; Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Vale Giulia: Oral history and the art of dialogue* (London, 1997) 9.
[78] Portelli, *The Battle of Vale Giulia,* 9.

with their own grandchildren. This was often characterised by familiarity, trust and acceptance, along with concern that the basic historical outline to the event had been conveyed. This could be frustrating as interviewees struggled to break away from the broader picture and engage with the particular as it related to their personal life experiences. On the other hand, interviewees could become more comfortable with sharing anecdotal information and sensitive personal memories, which they may normally have preferred to keep within the family.

The manner in which I was introduced to my interviewees also established a particular character to my interviewing process. After locating 87 surviving Scottish Kindertransportees from the new database, the KA and the AJR then introduced me to potential interviewees via written correspondence. Further interviewees were found by way of introduction from friends or relatives, some of whom I may already have interviewed. This approach seemed to put interviewees at ease, especially those who continue to express a real concern about Holocaust revisionists. It became clear that interviewees were worried about saying the wrong thing to the wrong person. The KA and AJR, along with their friends and family, offered a form of verification of my credentials. This enabled me to begin the interview process with a higher degree of trust and familiarity.

However, the process of introduction via the KA and AJR was not without problems. Upon initially meeting me, Kindertransportees in Scotland expressed suspicion and concern that yet another English Kindertransport story was going to be told. In addition, I found that Kindertransportees who rejected the English or broader popular Kindertransport narrative were agitated to express their criticism and contradictions to the story. Alternatively, other Kindertransportees who believed that an official story was being gathered, in line with popular Kindertransport narratives, expressed agitation to reiterate the grand narrative and to express thanks to Britain. This made it important at an early stage to clarify my independent academic status as a researcher. The KA and AJR were not involved in my project beyond the initial stage of introduction and expressed no desire to influence or direct my research.

Interviewees' responses were also shaped by the common presumption that I was both Jewish and Scottish, perhaps due to my affiliation with Edinburgh University in Scotland, Jewish organisations in England and personal interest in a

Scottish/Jewish subject matter. Fortunately, after correcting this misunderstanding familiarity had already been established and no hard feelings (albeit slight disappointment or disbelief) was felt. However, as Ugolini also discovered, the experience of being perceived to be an insider and part of a shared community did mean that interviewees spoke more freely about their personal experiences.[79]

The recording process in interviews can also shape the way in which interviewees choose to narrate their life stories. I chose not to video interviewees, but to use a Dictaphone. I felt that this avoided creating too formal an atmosphere. Avoiding visual recording can also reduce unease or self-awareness for the interviewee. It also enables anonymity and can help to emphasise dialogue rather than performance. Portelli argues that 'oral history shifts between 'performance-orientated narrative and content-orientated document, between subject-orientated life story and theme-orientated testimony'.[80] Lawrence Langer has critically argued that the main problem of videotaped survivors' testimonies is that they encourage interviewees to attach the 'grammar of heroism and martydom', as opposed to focusing on private, more mundane daily experiences.[81] By focusing on dialogue rather than performance, I also hoped to reduce difficulties that can arise for interviewees in the process of communicating life experiences to a stranger. Barbara Engelking has similarly found that Holocaust testimonies possess particular problems with the language of communication, whereby interviewees may struggle to convey their life story.[82]

Despite these considered approaches in the process of doing oral history, testimonies given by interviewees continued to vary in clarity, scope and organisation. These variations were also found to exist in other interviewers' collections of testimonies. Hammel points to two forms of approach that have

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[79] Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy 'OTHER'.
[80] Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Vale Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (London, 1997) 6.
[81] Lawrence L. Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven, 1991) 165.
[82] Barbara Engelking, *Holocaust and Memory* (London, 2001) 304.

emerged in Kindertransportees' autobiographic texts.[83] These adhere either to the linear approach to developments shaped by a picture of a perfect transition of events or a disjointed narrative with little cohesion and clarity to the process of exile and resettlement. It is important to use a mixture of these narrative approaches in order to achieve a balanced analysis of the historical event.

A range of additional factors beyond the scope of the interview process can determine varied narrative outcomes. Narratives are not only shaped by the personal contact their narrator has had with the subject matter, but also their current position. Later life experiences shape perspectives of the past. Carr has argued that 'to learn about the present in the light of the past means also to learn about the past in the light of the present'.[84] One's perception and recollection of history is subject to a subconscious transition over the course of time. Penny Summerfield refers to the influence of 'cultural circuits' upon narratives given by interviewees.[85] This is particularly apparent amongst Kindertransportees in their process of constructing personal narrative, whereby public discourse or other cultural influences inform personal memories.

Oral history can reveal much about existing public narrative frameworks and the relationship and impact of these upon personal memory. It can reveal contemporary pre-occupations with the process of story-telling, as well as the influence of external factors or current lifestyles upon the process of constructing narrative from personal memory. Subsequently, the 'composure', or not, of interviewees' testimonies during the giving of an interview can highlight important disparities that may exist between public ideas about a past event and personal memories of the past event.[86] This can throw light upon areas of apparent 'cultural

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[83] Andrea Hammel, 'Representations of Family in Autobiographical texts of child refugees', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies,* vol.23 (Fall, 2004) 121.
[84] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (London, 1961) 62.
[85] Penny Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews', *Cultural and Social History*, 2004, 1, 65-93.
[86] Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure', 68.

silence'.[87] It can also lead to a degree of uncertainty or frustration for interviewees who feel that their memory contradicts public narrative frameworks.

This is particularly true for the Kindertransport episode, which has experienced a transformation in its position and perceived importance within Holocaust history. The Kindertransport has now become an important emblem within public narratives of Jewish survival and sacrifice during the Holocaust. In becoming a publically recognised historical event, a public Kindertransport narrative framework has been formed. This has meant that a dominant narrative has emerged. As Summerfield has argued, interviewees who may feel that their memories do not tally with this narrative, become uncertain, insecure, reclusive or simply reconstruct their personal memories to suit the public discourse about the event.

The development of Holocaust historiographies has had other far-reaching implications upon Kindertransportees' narratives. The shadow of Auschwitz and testimonies of 'real' survivors of the Holocaust have influenced and transformed the Kindertransportees' position in Holocaust remembrance and reconciliation. Initially Kindertransportees remained quiet about their experiences, but in recent years they have been able to step out of the shadow of Auschwitz and present their stories as valuable testimonies within the body of Holocaust archives. This has changed narrators' confidence and motivation in the process of telling their stories. Kindertransportees' testimonies may be politically motivated, with the intention of testifying to the tragedy that befell them and their families during the Holocaust. John Murphy has shown the important political role of oral testimonies in constructing public narratives, which in turn influence public inquiries or official apologies.[88] Interviewees have often remarked of the need to record their experiences in order to prevent the Holocaust ever happening again or future generations ever forgetting.[89]

This has also meant that the Holocaust has become a central reference point within Kindertransportees' life stories. Ronnie Landau has shown that the 'central

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[87] *Ibid.* 92.

[88] John Murphy, 'Memory, identity and public narrative', *Cultural and Social History*, vol.7, 3 (2010) 299.

[89] Frances Williams private collection of interviews (FWPC)/Noah, Sarah. (FWPC interviewees are referred to using a pseudonym).

reference point' that can emerge in Holocaust testimonies to the Holocaust in Greater Germany can mean that a black-and-white character of narrative emerges.[90] These testimonies can provide a 'process of reconciliation', whereby clear-cut 'goodies' and 'badies' are created.[91] This can be problematic because it has given 'victim-hood' a central position in many Kindertransportees' narratives. This type of testimony emphasises loss and trauma in conjunction with the bond of collective 'victim-hood'. Landau found, in the case of concentration camp survivors, that a 'grotesque competition in suffering' emerges within testimonies.[92] Engelking has also pointed to the 'rivalry in martyrology' that she believes has developed amongst Holocaust testimonies.[93] This problem is not as extreme in the case of the Kindertransportees, yet it does become apparent that degrees of suffering and victimhood emerge as important denominators in narrators' perceptions of the importance of their story, as well as their credentials as a Holocaust survivor. This process has also encouraged the religious experience of Kindertransportees in Britain to be narrated too closely to these historiographies, which are fundamentally concerned with fears for Jewish survival post-Holocaust.[94]

It is therefore essential to utilise narratives that have been gathered at various points in time and for various reasons. This is also because of the influence that the process of resettlement has had upon developing new historical narratives. The transition of the Kindertransportees from being a child to an adult, and from being deemed a foreigner or refugee to being a citizen, are important processes that impose themselves upon narrative. Gopfert argues that those who migrated to the United States or Israel, as opposed to those who remained in Britain, developed more satisfied narrations of their lives.[95] Gopfert puts this down to their early dislocation from the terms 'foreigner' and 'refugee'. This is because in both the United State and Israel migrants constitute the majority of the population, whereas in Britain an accent

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[90] Ronnie Landau, *Studying the Holocaust; Issues, readings and documents* (London, 1998) 3.
[91] Murphy, 'Memory, identity and public narrative', 298.
[92] Landau, Studying the Holocaust, 5.
[93] Engelking, *Holocaust and Memory,* 312.
[94] Chaim Bermant, *Troubled Eden; An anatomy of British Jewry* (London, 1969).
[95] Rebekka Gopfert, 'Kindertransport: History and memory', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23 (Fall, 2004) 21-27.

alone could differentiate someone as 'different'. The result for those remaining in Britain could include a more difficult process of accessing memories due to prolonged upset and agitation over their situation.[96] The use of diaries, school journals and letters of the minors during the war with contemporary testimonies and memoirs enables a comparative perspective over time.

Gopfert's theories also point to the occurrence of patterns of narrative based on geographic locations in later lives and this makes it essential to also utilise narratives collected from Kindertransportees who resettled outside of Britain: Israel, United States, South America and New Zealand. The position of the 'Holocaust' in the collective conscious of the community within which they resettled was an important influence on the development of personal narratives in different locations.[97] In the United States the central position afforded to the commemoration of the Holocaust remains in stark contrast to the centrality of military activity in British Second World War memorial days. Gopfort points out that the different status this gives to survivors within society has a profound effect upon their narrative.[98]

Personal narratives are also subject to change as a result of more personal factors that arise in later years. Hammel argues that Kindertransportees' narratives have undergone a conscious adaptation due to the narrators' personal needs and wants. Hammel has issued warnings in her work about the process of constructing or 'reconstituting' one's life story.[99] She argues that the need to narrate one's life story is linked to the process of establishing one's place in the world and clarifying who one is: 'we need to narrate our own life story to locate ourselves in the symbolic world of culture.'[100] Jerome Bruner and Susan Weisser call this the 'invention of self'.[101] Murphy also pursues this line of thought and argues that there exists an

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[96] *Ibid.*
[97] *Ibid.*
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] Hammel, 'Representations of Family', 121.
[100] *Ibid.,* 122.
[101] Jerome Bruner and Susan Weisser, 'The Invention of Self: Autobiography and its Form', in David R. Olson and Nancy Torrance (eds), *Literacy and Orality* (Cambridge, 1991) 141.

innate connection between 'memory, identity and public narrative'.[102] Subsequently, memories and narratives are always changing.

The fluidity of memory is particularly relevant as Kindertransportees become older and memories are recalled from further in the past. The increasing distance of the narrator to the event can make it harder to recall memories. This problem has meant that external sources become increasingly valuable to the narrator in their process of recollecting their story. Tosh has argued that:

> Our memories serve as both a data bank and a means of making sense of an unfolding life story … memory is neither fixed nor infallible: we forget, we overlay early memories with later experience, we shift the emphasis, we entertain false memories … and we seek confirmation of our memories from an outside source.[103]

This statement is particularly fitting, for example, in the context of Kindertransportees' testimonies of life at Whittingehame Farm School. William Drew's collection of over 400 photographic negatives, taken during his time at Whittingehame, has been generously circulated amongst Kindertransportees. These images have provided a means for Kindertransportees to reconnect and reimagine past experiences.

The photographs have impacted on their oral testimonies in a number of ways. Testimonies of Whittingehame residents are more coherent, vivid and alive with detail than those given by Kindertransportees who lack photographic reference. A number of dominant and persistent stories have also arisen within this body of oral testimonies. These memories mirror the images found amongst Drew's collection. This includes, for example, persistent recollections of Charles Maxwell, the second Headmaster, and his infamous Scottish kilt (see figure 0.1.). Maxwell's devotion to routinely wearing the Scottish kilt seems questionable in light of his origins in Edinburgh, where the tendency to wear kilts on a daily basis was not usual. Figure

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[102] Murphy, 'Memory, Identity and public narrative', 299.
[103] Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 1-2.

0.2. appears to be a photograph taken inside Whittingehame. The figure on the left seems to be Maxwell. It is noteworthy that he is not wearing a kilt.

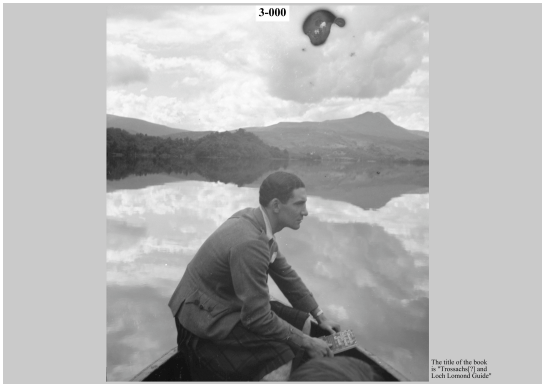

Figure 0.1. Charles Maxwell

Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs.

Figure 0.2. Staff reclining inside Whittingehame

Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs.

Figure 0.3. Kindertransportee climbing out of a window

Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs.

It is also of significance that only Maxwell and Drew have been recorded within this photographic archive, and it is only Maxwell and Drew that are well remembered by interviewees. Another reccurring anecdote is that of other residents' misbehaviour in the form of climbing out of windows (see figure 0.3.). The intention of the absailer is not clear from the photograph, but this image is recounted in the vast majority of testimonies as a tendency amongst misbehaving residents to exit Whittingehame via the windows. This anecdote correlates with Drew's photographs.

The trend to recite visually recorded events has meant that a form of collective memory has developed. This may overshadow personal anecdotes and diversity. Drew's photographs have confirmed certain memories and overshadowed others. They have rejigged forgotten stories and thrown light on angles of life at Whittingehame that some Kindertransportees may not otherwise have recorded. They have filtered out less certain recollections and replaced them with stronger visual ideas about a past experience.

Beyond Whittingehame, Kindertransportees' narratives have also developed a particular 'collective' character, which makes it essential to draw out the individual's personal story. This especially occurred following the 50th reunion of the Kindertransport, which saw Bertha Leverton advocating the group identity of the 'kinder'.[104] In connection to the 'collective silence' that existed in the shadow of Auschwitz, Barnett points to the development of a 'collective narrative'.[105] This frequently stresses group thanks to the British nation juxtaposed against commemoration as Holocaust survivors. This has meant that myths and misconceptions that adhere to a general account of the experience have often been reiterated in narratives. It is subsequently imperative to support testimonies with archival material.

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[104] See Anonymous, *ROK, Kindertransport 60 Anniversary; In deep gratitude to the people and Parliament of the United Kingdom for saving the lives of 10,000 Jewish and other children who fled to this country from Nazi persecution on the Kindertransport 1938-1939* (London: RoK, 1999) 15-17; see also 'The Reunion', BBC Radio 4 (FM only), 11.15am, 12 September 2010; Association of Jewish Refugees' webpage relating to the Kindertransport Association's activities in Britain, www.ajr.org.uk/kindertransport.htm.

[105] Ruth Barnett, 'The Acculturation of the Kindertransport Minors: Intergenerational Dialogue on the Kindertransport Experience'*, Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23 (2004) 100-110.

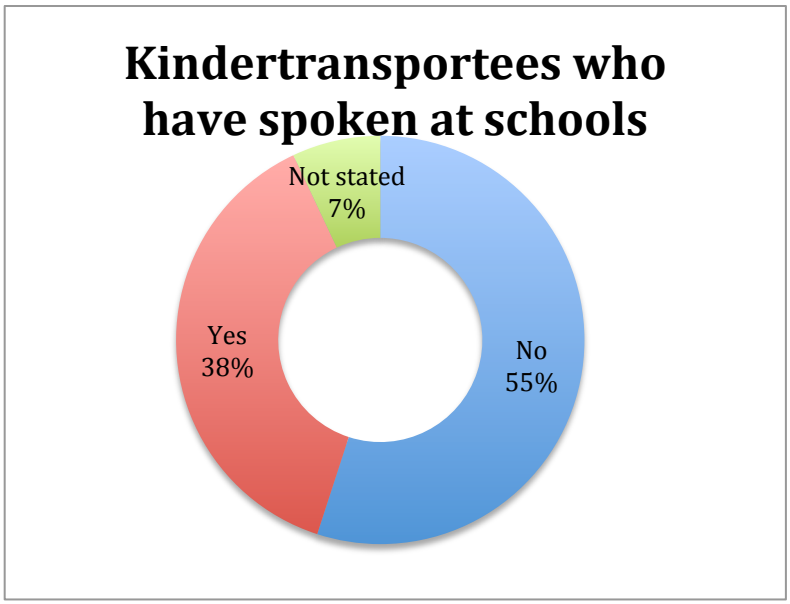

Figure 0.4. Kindertransportees who have spoken at schools

Source: KA:QU/SUP

The interviewee's narrative approach can also be determined by the reason why they choose to tell their story and the practice they have had in doing so. This makes it essential to utilise a combined collection of both rehearsed and unrehearsed narratives. The rehearsed narrator is most often the result of speaking in schools or taking part in other historical projects. A number of Kindertransportees have given testimonies to the Shoah Foundation's archive and similar projects. Figure 0.4. illustrates the high proportion of all Kindertransportees who have retold their stories at schools. This figure does not change substantially when narrowed to Scotland's Kindertransportees, of whom 32% have spoken at schools. An unusually high percentage of Kindertransportees (40%) have also chosen to write down their story (see figure 0.5.). The process of writing life stories allows for editing and clarifying memories.[106]

[106] Kindertransportees have been prolific in writing well edited autobiographies: Gertrude Dubrovsky, *Six from Leipzig: Kindertransport and the Cambridge Refugee Children's Committee* (London, 2003); Vera Gissing, *Pearls of Childhood: The Poignant True Wartime Story of a Young Girl Growing Up in an Adopted Land* (New York, 1988); Eva Hayman, *By the Moon and the Stars* (Auckland, 1992).

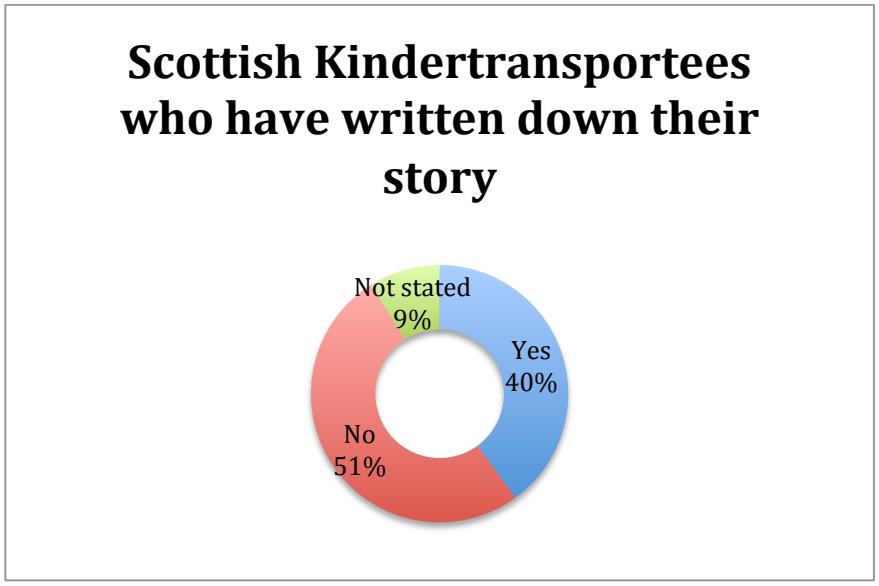

Figure 0.5. Scottish Kindertransportees who have written their life stories.

Source: KA:QU/SUP

These narrators can subsequently become very familiar with the process of telling their stories. These often remain broad in scope, focusing on the larger events that are better known to their audience. In contrast, some Kindertransportees have never previously spoken about their experiences and, as a result, tend not to approach their story with as much confidence or certainty. Memories are conveyed through numerous unconnected and fragmented episodes; however, these can offer a more personal reflection on minor incidents. Both are important to this research and can offer, in unison, a balanced perspective.

Narratives are also affected by the message or moral of the story that narrators can often wish to convey. This can produce both positive and negative testimonies. The 'successful' narrative is particularly common amongst Kindertransportees who speak at schools. These are particularly prone to advocating the 'successful' process of resettlement towards complete acculturation and personal achievement. The development of a celebratory narrative often partners the successful interpretation. These are linked to the commemorative era of the Kindertransport and most explicitly expressed in connection with reunions,

memorials or public exhibitions that have occurred.[107] This often expresses at the forefront of accounts a personal thanks towards Britain or their hosts. As an example, Bentwich, a leading figure in the welfare network for refugees in Britain, recorded an account in 1956 of Britain's reception of refugees. Bentwich approached the subject matter with a substantial degree of jingoism and took efforts to applaud the British Government and Anglo-Jewry without criticism.[108]

The narrator can also be the victim of a selective memory shaped by nostalgia for the 'good times' and this develops a form of comfort narrative. Nostalgia plays a central role in the relationship 'between remembering and forgetting'.[109] One Kindertransportee, in 'Alice Remembers', reflects upon the powerful role of nostalgia upon her memories of the war years: 'so cold and clear with snow underfoot and we never felt the cold. Ah, for nostalgia!'[110] It is important that narratives are cautiously used in combination with contrasting accounts. Miriam Peskowitz interestingly points to the notion of '*maskilim*' (nostalgic comfort) and its power at distorting events to fit new agendas of recollection.[111]

Despite these problems, personal narratives - oral testimonies, memoirs, diaries, school journals and letters - provide a unique insight into the minors' lives in Scotland that cannot be drawn from other archival sources. School journals of Kindertransportees at Whittingehame have recorded friendships, mundane daily activities and their training experiences, such as learning to drive a combine harvester. Diaries highlight social squabbles between minors, heartache and private feelings. These insights cannot be found within bureaucratic records on the school or newspaper reports about the minors' activities in Scotland.

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[107] See Anon, *ROK;* see also 'The Reunion', BBC Radio 4 (FM only), 11.15am, 12 September 2010; 'The Kindertransport Story', BBC broadcast, IPlayer 29 April 2009; Mark Jonathon Harris, *Into the arms of strangers*, film (Washington, 2001); EGPC/Speech transcripts from the 1989 reunion; EGPC/ Reunion documents for Whittingehame Farm School's Kindertransportees.

[108] Norman Bentwich, *They found refuge; An account of British Jewry's work for victims of Nazi oppression* (London, 1956).

[109] Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson (eds), *Narrative and Genre* (London, 1990) 3.

[110] 'Alice Remembers' in the Whittingehame Farm School reunion brochure, 21.

[111] Miriam Peskowitz and Laura Levitt, *Judaism since Gender* (New York, 1997).

It is also important to understand the broader picture surrounding the minors' daily lives in order to add perspective. This will be achieved by utilising not only refugee and Jewish archives, but also those drawn from the wider community, such as newspapers. Bolchover points to the important use of newspapers, notably the *Jewish Chronicle* and *Jewish Echo,* for providing researchers with a guide to the views of the community.[112] I have also made reference to non-denominational journals, such as *The Times, The Scotsman* and the *Haddington Courier*. Shatzkes refers to the 'communal voice' offered by newspaper reports, which are inaccessible within minute notes and other official documents.[113] Nonetheless, minute notes and other official documents are essential to understand the bureaucratic and administrative structures that directed the minors' time in Scotland. Overarching both methodologies is the new Kindertransport Association's database (KA:QU/SUP). This combines quantitative and qualitative material and enables a broad picture to be drawn concerning the national workings of the bureaucratic system and the day-to-day lives of the minors.

Any discussion of methodology also requires consideration of appropriate concepts and their definition. The consideration of refugee resettlement into new communities invites associations with terms such as 'assimilation' and 'acculturation'. Within this framework, culture is an immediate term that needs clarification. Culture can mean very different things when applied to different circumstances or people. Its associated perimeters can relate to institutions, customs and traditions. However, this ignores internal aspects of culture that are not readily expressed or visible: ethos, morals and values. Culture is also not static or monolithic in nature, but, as Fredrik Barth argues, is in constant motion and is constantly absorbing and expelling at a very subconscious level.[114] A.L. Epstein points to the necessity of total isolation to prevent the absorption of new practices

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[112] Bolchover, *British Jewry*, xii.
[113] Pamela Shatzkes, *Holocaust and Rescue: Impotent or Indifferent? Anglo-Jewry 1938-1945* (London, 2002) 12.
[114] Frederick Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Group and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (London, 1970) 10; See also Marion Berghahn, 'German Jews in England; Aspects of the Assimilation and Integration process', in Hirschfield (ed.) *Exile in Great Britain,* 286.

into a cultural bracket.[115] Subsequently, a 'type' of Scottish or Kindertransportee 'culture' is devoid of meaning and is not presumed within this thesis.

My evaluations will also refrain from speculation concerning non-visible aspects of culture: morals, ethos and values. Instead, references will relate to more visible cultural habits that developed amongst the minors: linguistic uses, denominational membership, dress, education, political associations, career and lifestyle choices. Chapter Five does seek to evaluate the personal experiences of the Kindertransportees whilst in Scotland, but this will only make reference to testimonies of the Kindertransportees themselves. The overarching research question of this thesis concerns the nature of the reception, care and the process of resettlement for the Kindertransportees in Scotland and does not seek to gauge their 'acculturation' of Scottish culture. It also does not wish to stress that two distinct cultures existed: Scottish and migrant, or that the minors moved from one bracket to the other. Instead, the intention is to draw on aspects of the minors' process of resettlement and consider the way in which these shaped their broader life stories in migration.

The notion of a process of resettlement points to a number of other problematic linguistic associations with 'assimilation', 'acculturation' and 'integration'. These can be construed as suggestive of a linear progression. Instead, it will be stressed that there were unstable and unpredictable experiences in Scotland, which did not prescribe gradual progressive integration on a permanent basis. Berghahn has struggled with these issues in her work on refugee resettlement in London. She argues that 'appropriation' is a more suitable term for the process of resettlement into the host community.[116] This places emphasis on the simultaneous presence of many different cultural habits from old and new communities. The Kindertransportees did not automatically dislocate themselves from pre-existing cultural habits when they appropriated new ones. Furthermore, cultural habits that they acquired in Scotland were re-interpreted within the minors' framework of reference and therefore were never in symmetry to their original form.

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[115] A.L.Epstein, *Ethos and Identity* (London, 1978) 92.
[116] Berghahn, *Continental Britons*, 16.

The 'cultural construction of ideas to do with childhood' is another important concept that requires consideration.[117] Ideas about the meaning of 'childhood' informed the manner in which the Kindertransportees were received, cared for and nurtured in Scotland. These ideas were not static, but represented a complex process of 'construction and reconstruction' over a long period of time and varying from region to region.[118] Philippe Aries has shown that over time in history, ideas about childhood and the experience of being a child has changed.[119] Aries and M. Wartofsky both explain that in each age 'each society reinvents or rediscovers childhood within its own socio-historical framework'.[120] W. Kessen refers to this process as a form of 'cultural invention'.[121] Anne-Marie Ambert argues that this has meant that the nature of childhood has continued to be debated 'historically and cross-culturally' throughout history.[122]

In the 1930s, 'childhood' had emerged in popular imagery and ideology as a distinct and important life period, separate from 'adulthood'. Karin Cavert has argued that the process of change developed over a long period of time between 1600 and 1900: shifting from the 'inchoate adult' to the 'natural child' and then to the idea of the 'innocent child' by 1900.[123] Stephen Lassonde explains that these shifts fundamentally were paving the way towards the development of the 'modern model'

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[117] High Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', *The American Historical Review,* vol.103, 4 (October, 1998) 1195.
[118] H. Henrick, 'Constructions and reconstructions of Britain childhood: An interpretive survey, 1800 to the present', in A. James and A. Prout (eds.), *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood* (London, 1990) 35-59.
[119] Philippe Aries (trans. Robert Baldick), *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York, 1962).
[120] Wartofsky, M., 'The child's construction of the world and the world's construction of the child: From historical epistemology to historical psychology', in F.S. Kessel and A. W. Siegel (eds.) *The Child and other cultural inventions: Houston symposium 4* (New York, 1983) 188-215.
[121] Kessen, W., 'The child and other cultural inventions', in F.S.Kesssel and A.W. Siegel (eds.), *The child,* 27-47.
[122] Anne-Marie Ambert, 'An International Perspective on Parenting: Social Change and Social Constructs', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, vol. 56, 3 (August 1994) 529.
[123] Karin Cavert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900*, (Boston, 1992), cited in High Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', *The American Historical Review,* vol.103, 4 (October, 1998) 1200.

of childhood.[124] This is linked to a perception of the child not as a fixed entity and prelude to a predictable adulthood, regardless of care or treatment during this time of maturation, but instead as a view that childhood experiences create the adult.[125] Hugh Cunningham argues that notions of childhood continued to flux between the idea of the child as an agent or as biological determined adults.[126] Even so, by the 1930s, in addition to their economic input, children's emotional contribution and development had emerged as important considerations in the concept of childhood. Lassonde argues that children were increasingly viewed as 'malleable creatures subject to socialisation'.[127]

Furthermore, as Lassonde argues, the 1930s represented an important era in which childhood was officially defined. This led to a greater degree of state regulation of the family and childhood. Subsequently, children were increasingly officially distinguished as different from adults. Children tended to be treated as children, rather than young adults. Prohibitions on economic activity, as well as compulsory schooling and emphasis on maternal care developed in an effort to protect childhood. These ideological changes that were occurring in regards to childhood, Aries argues, also culminated in the development of the 'family-bound childhood', whereby children became excluded from the adult world outside of the family.[128] As a result, a close connection was formed between the family, good parenting and childhood.[129] Nevertheless, unofficially within informal social channels the cultural invention of childhood continued to be constructed and reconstructed, varying region to region. As a result, the Kindertransportees'

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[124] Stephen Lassonde, review of Peter N. Stearns', 'Childhood in World History' (New York, 2006), Kriste Lindenmeyer, 'The Greatest Generation Grows Up: American Childhood in the 1930s' (Chicago, 2005) and Nicholas Sammond, 'Babes in Tomorrowland: Walt Disney and the making of the American child, 1930-1960' (Durham, 2005), in *Journal of Social History* (Summer, 2007) 1019.
[125] Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', 1198.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] Lassonde, review, 1019.
[128] Philippe Aries, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien regime,* (1960), cited in High Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', *The American Historical Review,* Vol.103, 4 (October, 1998) 1197.
[129] John Demos, 'Developmental Perspectives in the History of Childhood', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* vol.2, 2, The History of the Family (Autumn, 1971), 315-327; See also Roger Cooter (ed), *In the name of the Child: Health and Welfare, 1880-1940* (London, 1992).

experiences as 'children' did not always reflect official policy towards the notion of childhood.

The idea of being 'Scottish' and the Kindertransportees' perception of the meaning of 'Scottishness' are another important aspect of this thesis, which need clarification. Scotland's Kindertransportees express a perceived strong attachment and affiliation towards Scotland. Yet, this is not described in substantive terms or as a certain construct. Instead, they reiterate vague, yet powerful popular impressions about all things imagined to represent the 'real' Scotland. These take shape in the form of clichéd symbols of Scottish identity, including consumer items associated with the imagined concept of Scottishness, such as an appreciation of whiskey or tartan.[130] In doing so, Kindertransportees reflect the far-reaching impact that 'Scotland the Brand' has had not only upon tourists, but also migrants to Scotland.[131]

The imagery used by Kindertransportees draws on popular notions of a Scottish heritage, most notably Highlandism. Hugh Trevor-Roper refers to this Highland-based construction of Scottishness as a 'retrospective invention' and a modern apparatus that possesses 'great ambiguity'.[132] R. Nicholson offers an important insight into the construction of 'Scottishness' drawn from imagined Highland traditions.[133] This process, Nicholson argues, crystallised as a reaction against the 1707 Act of Union. This has meant that symbols of Scottishness express a distinct non-English character. Over time these symbols have become 'fixed in the popular mind as historical truths' of Scottishness. Angela McCarthy has noted a similar popularity amongst migrants, in her case Scottish migrants to North America or Australasia, for Highlandism.[134] McCarthy shows how this has developed into the establishment of a Scottish heritage culture in foreign countries, including the

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[130] Emma Combes, Sally Hibbert, Gillian Hogg, Richard Varey, 'Consuming Identity: The Case of Scotland', *Advances in Consumer Research*, vol.28, 328.
[131] *Ibid.* 330.
[132] Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland', in Eric Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, 1983), 15.
[133] R. Nicholson, 'From Ramsay's *Flora MacDonald* to Raeburn's *MacNab*: The Use of Tartan as a Symbol of Identity?', *Textile History*, 36, 2 (2005), 146.
[134] Angela McCarthy, 'Scottish National Identities among Inter-war Migrants in North America and Australasia', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.34, 2 (June, 2006) 201.

establishment of ethnic institutions – Burns' clubs, pipe bands or Caledonian clubs – or Scots language and idiom.[135] Kindertransportees also attach themselves to positive public displays of 'Scottishness', most notably linguistic affiliation, whereby, during the course of an interview, an American accent is swiftly reverted to broad Scots. The impression given is that by talking in a Scots accent, the Kindertransportees feel that they swiftly distinguish themselves from English migrants or other migrants, and assert a more authentic Scottish connection. As found with Kindertransportees, McCarthy has discovered that Scots rather than Gaelic is the preferred means to express Scottishness.

Whilst Kindertransportees do emphasise their connection to clichéd symbols of Scottishness, at the same time they reiterate the 'birth, blood and belonging' identity of 'real' Scotsman.[136] This is explained as a more decisive Scottish identity and one that they do not feel able to claim. As Richard Kiely, Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone have argued, the issue of 'born and brought up' is a powerful ideology, which is felt by immigrants to prevent them from being able to become Scottish.[137] Kindertransportees make reference to their non-Scottish surnames, which lack 'Mc', to distinguish their lack of 'real' Scottish authenticity. It is perhaps because they believe they lack this blood connection to Scotland that Kindertransportees choose to emphasise instead their affiliation to clichéd symbols of Scottishness.

This thesis is not only concerned with what occurred, but to whom it occurred. The Kindertransportees are at the forefront of this consideration. The body of historical literature that exists for the Kindertransport possesses an active arena of debate concerning the character and background of those involved within its framework.[138] This has dealt with the Kindertransportees as a group in a variety of ways. However, there is a tendency to treat the minors across Britain as one

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[135] *Ibid.* 202.
[136] Richard Kiely, Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone, 'Birth, blood and belonging: identity claims in post-devolution Scotland', *The Sociological Review,* 2005, 150-171.
[137] *Ibid.* 156.
[138] See Curio, '"Invisible" minors'; Benz and Hammel, 'Emigration as Rescue and Trauma', 2-7; Bertha Leverton and Shmuel Lowensohn, *I came alone; Stories of the Kindertransports* (England, 1990); Turner, *And the Policeman smiled*.

collective group. In this thesis it will be shown that the Kindertransportees and subsequently their experience lacked uniformity or predictability as a group. It will be argued that the Kindertransportees represented a kaleidoscope of different types of people with contrasting backgrounds, including national, regional and local origins, age, gender, religious affiliation and orientation, family background, social and economic circumstance, as well as their contact with anti-Semitism before migration to Britain.

Subsequently, a mixed composition of minors arrived in Scotland who possessed very different social, economic, cultural, religious and communal origins. Claudio Curio has put forward an optimistic perception that a 'special character of childhood exile emerges', but this overlooks the abundance of differences amongst Kindertransportees.[139] Curio's evaluation is based on the presumed enforcement of the strict entry requirements and procedures adhered to by the Refugee Children's Movement (RCM). The RCM's admittance process pandered to fears about providing a catalyst for anti-Semitism in Britain. It was also restricted to criteria of British immigration laws, which welcomed only 'desirable' migrants. Potential foster parents were also at liberty to specify their preferences for particular character traits. These considerations gave preference to minors from desirable social, economic and cultural backgrounds: young, female and with little obvious Jewish affiliation.

However, the Kindertransport was also utilised by other organisations, which each possessed their own entry criteria for the minors. These included Zionist organisations for the relocation of *hachsharot* centres. Youth Aliyah's selection process for an allotted place in a *hachsharot* training centre initially considered only ardent members of a Zionist youth movement and prioritised physical strength.[140] Independent philanthropists, who each advocated different agendas, aided the relocation of orphanages and schools through the Kindertransport to Britain. Allocations were also given to minors who simply needed an escort to privately pre-arranged accommodation in Britain. This meant that the preferred 'type' of migrant minor varied according to how and why they had gained entry onto the Kindertransport.

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[139] Curio, '"Invisible" minors', 42.

[140] *Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organisation of America; Hadassah and Youth Aliyah* (unknown, 1935); Anonymous, *25 Years of Youth Aliyah* (London, 1959).

Furthermore, the religious affiliations of these organising bodies utilising the Kindertransport were also assorted. These shaped specific schemes and their selection criteria, which ranged from non-denominational to Jewish Orthodox. Within the Zionist movement religious affiliation ranged from Hashomer Hatzair's extreme anti-religious Jewish rhetoric to Bachad's fervently observant Jewish Orthodox character. Organising bodies also included non-Jewish groups, such as the Quakers or Catholic philanthropic groups, who sought non-denominational or non-Jewish minors. There was also a significant clash in agenda and eventual split between the two chief Jewish organisations involved in the bureaucratic orchestration of the Kindertransport. The Chief Rabbi's Emergency Council (CREC) focused on providing Jewish solutions for Orthodox minors and was fervently opposed to the RCM's secular and partisan approach. Curio's evaluations are drawn from the RCM's selection process, which pandered to the old establishment of Anglo-Jewry and their concerns to minimise the 'Jewishness' of immigrants.[141] This did not represent the criteria of all organisations involved in the Kindertransport.

The absence of one approach, orientation or agenda led to the presence of a cross-section of minors amongst the Kindertransportees. Alan Berger supports this perception and stresses the variety of religious backgrounds of the Kindertransportees.[142] These included a mixture of Orthodox, Traditional, Liberal, Reform, Conservative, non-practising and agnostic backgrounds.[143] Researchers have also often presented the Kindertransportees as arriving from a 'typical' German Jewish background. Tydor Baumel makes this mistake of overemphasising the group characteristic as Germanic middle-class, professional, bourgeois and urban.[144] The Kindertransportees did not come from one Jewish community or lifestyle in Greater Germany. Kindertransportees also express a mixture of perceived memberships to either the community of the *Ostjuden*, or new Eastern European

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[141] Curio, '"Invisible" minors', 55.
[142] Berger, 'Jewish Identity and Jewish Destiny', 85.
[143] KA:QU/SUP.
[144] Judith Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee: The Jewish Refugee Minors in Great Britain during Evacuation, 1939-1943', *Jewish Social Studies*, 45:2 (Spring, 1983) 175.

immigrant class, or that of the *Westjuden*, or old establishment.[145] This adds to the work of Berghahn, Shulamit Volkov and Henry Wasserman who have taken steps to challenge views that suggest that a type of German Jewry emerged in correlation with a general move towards secular living and the abandonment of religious life.[146] German Jews did not represent a monotype community who had enjoyed a linear move away from religion and towards secular living and 'assimilation' into the German nation. Secular families still maintained traditional religious practices and expressed their Jewish affiliation in various avenues of life. The Kindertransportees' original religious orientation reflected this Jewish kaleidoscope: Atheist, Agnostic, Reform, Liberal, Conservative, Traditional, Orthodox, Zionist, 'modern', Sephardi and Secular.[147]

The Kindertransportees also came from a mixture of national and socio-economic backgrounds. Figure 0.6. reveals the assorted ratio of national origins of Scotland's Kindertransportees.[148] While Figure 0.7. highlights that amongst these Kindertransportees there also existed a highly varied ratio of nationalities. The Kindertransportees also arrived from a wide variety of regions within their homelands: from rural locations and villages to large cities or small towns in urban areas. 23% came from Berlin, while 30% came from Vienna; 6% were from Koenigsberg, 5% from Essen and 2% from Frankfurt am Main. Cities of origin within Greater Germany included Dresden, Hanover, Swinemunde, Gelsenkirchen, Guttstadt, Kassel, Brakel, Nuremberg, Dortmund, Ruhla, Breslau, Neuss, Hronov, Glogau, Brandenburg, Adelsheim and Butow. Only 1% of minors came from Prague and 1% from Danzig. 100% of Austrian minors who were sent to Scotland came from Vienna. However, the high ratio of Berliners and Viennese masks a more complex picture of origins. Many Kindertransportees' parents had migrated to these

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[145] FWPC/Elijah, Abaigael.
[146] See Berghahn, *Continental Britons*; Berghahn, 'German Jews in England'; Todd Endelman, review of Marion Berghahn, 'Continental Britons: German Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 94, 5 (December, 1989) 1389-1390; Shulamit Volkov, 'Die Juden in Deutschland 1780-1918', in Lothar Gall a.o. (ed.), *Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte* vol. 16 (Münich, 1994).
[147] KA:QU/SUP.
[148] *Ibid.*

urban centres in the 1930s in response to increased anti-Semitism and a desire for anonymity.

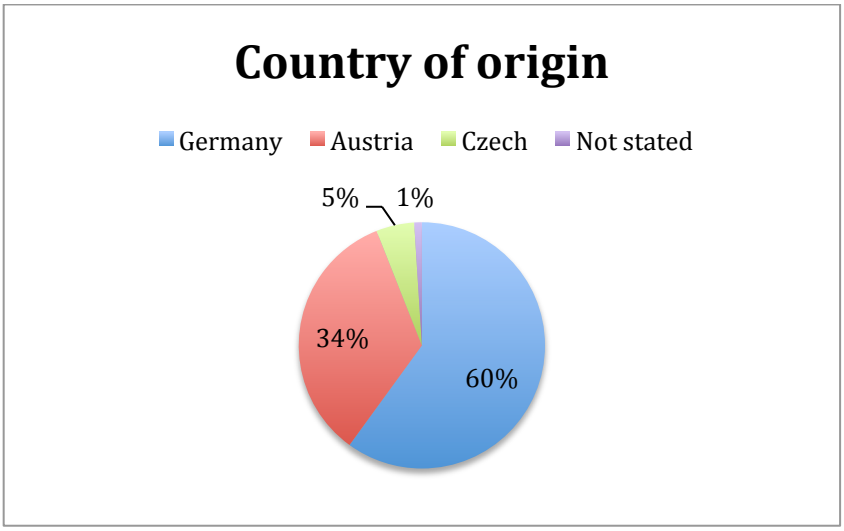

Figure 0.6. Scotland's Kindertransportees' countries of origin

Source: KA:QU/SUP

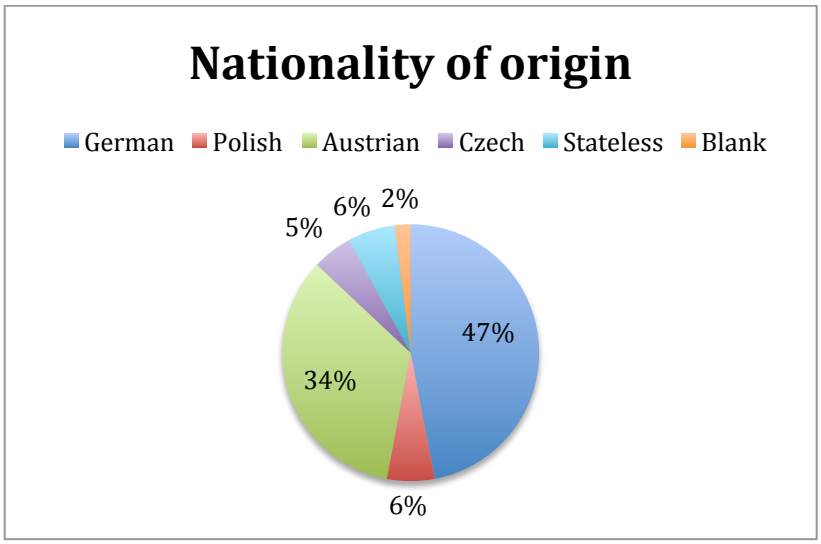

Figure 0.7. Kindertransportees' original nationality

Source: KA:QU/SUP

The Kindertransportees were also a mix of boys and girls: 54% females and 44% males (2% did not answer).[149] The Kindertransportees can therefore not be

[149] *Ibid.*

reduced to a type of migrant, minor, Jew or German. They also did not experience a typical type of journey found amongst Jewish refugees from Greater Germany. Narratives have too frequently grouped the Kindertransportees with an overarching storyline about Jewish refugees during this period. However, the group characteristic of Scotland's Kindertransportees was responsive to different social, economic, cultural, religious and geographic factors pertaining to their origins. These differences were also heightened by the plurality of the Kindertransport experience once in Britain.

The Kindertransport as a common denominator was not widely perceived as a collective identity until the 50th reunion, which was held in London in 1989. Only at this point did many migrant minors discover for the first time that they were not the only ones who had travelled on an organised transport, unaccompanied by their parents, via the Hook of Holland or Hamburg to Britain. At the 50th reunion, Bertha Leverton inaugurated the commemorative era of the Kindertransport with her welcome 'Hello kinder'. The term 'kinder' has since become entrenched in the popular imagination of the group identity of those who used the Kindertransport. This has strengthened the belief in the uniformity of the episode and the 'kinder' has developed into a by-word for being part of a monolithic kinship group with one identity and experience. The term 'kinder' has therefore consciously not been used in this thesis. Instead, I have used the term 'Kindertransportee'. This does not intend to suggest a group identity, but merely identify those minors who were allotted a seat on these transports for minors. With these methodological and research issues in mind, the queries posed by this research project will be explored with sensitivity to the complexity and differences found amongst the Kindertransportees.

Research questions and arguments

Returning to the opening statement by Hardisty, the crux to this evaluation lies in understanding the nature of the Kindertransportees' experience of reception, care and nurture in Scotland and the bearing that this may have had upon their lives. The first issue that will be dealt with in this thesis is whether there was a typical reception experience for the Kindertransportees. How were they received? Was this as

Kindertransportees? Was the reception of the Kindertransportees an example of the kindred spirit of the British people in response to the Kindertransportees' plight, or a pragmatic damage control strategy for problematic Jewish migrants? These questions seek to re-engage with the popular notion that the reception of the Kindertransportees was fundamentally responsive to a humanitarian concern for Jewish minors suffering persecution in Greater Germany. Why were the Kindertransportees admitted to Britain and who were they once they arrived in Scotland?

The Kindertransportees' reception in Britain was not fundamentally responsive to their needs and their affiliation with the Kindertransport was only a minimal part of their migration and resettlement story. Instead, national, social, political and economic circumstances determined their reception experience. Official national immigration terms and conditions for the Kindertransportees' admittance to Britain pre-determined how they were to be formally received in Scotland. This meant their reception was informed by national agendas towards immigrants to Britain. These agendas did not place the migrant on centre stage, but responded to a concern for the British people and the nation's status quo.

The Kindertransportees were not received as future British citizens or Scots. Neither were the Kindertransportees defined as members of a Jewish race. Instead they were citizens of the Jewish persuasion from a foreign country. Richard Bolchover has also pointed to the official position adopted by the Foreign Office and supported by Anglo-Jewry, which determined Jewish refugees as citizens of a separate European country, not as Jews per se.[150] As argued by Geoffrey Alderman, this meant that the Jewish Kindertransportees were first and foremost received as foreign nationals. [151]

These terms and conditions generated an array of associated labels to their status and these in-turn defined how they would be received in Scottish society. These were both positive and negative. As foreign co-religionist, the Kindertransportees were received as a distinctly different Jewish 'type'. This status did not afford them a primary importance to Anglo-Jewry. As Susanne Hein has

[150] Bolchover, *British Jewry,* xxvi.
[151] Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford, 1992) 281.

argued, these institutions remained primarily self-regarding and sought to protect their interests.[152] Anglo-Jewry cautiously received the Kindertransportees as part of a surplus of new Jewish migrants threatening to escalate the notion of 'a Jewish problem' in the British general public's mind. Bolchover describes this approach as the 'politics of fear'.[153] Alderman and Kushner also both argue that Anglo-Jewry's care of the refugees was shaped by the desire to quell any anti-Semitism in Britain.[154] This meant a practical, cautious and pragmatic approach to the reception policy. These rested on damage control strategies to ameliorate the general public's unease about the new arrivals.

The Kindertransportee was intended to slot into the community in a manner that Kushner refers to as a policy for 'invisibility'.[155] As Curio asserts, this focused on distributing the minors far and wide in order to prevent them becoming newsworthy.[156] To quell potential hostility towards the new arrivals, the temporary basis of their visa allocation for Britain and the official status this procured them as trans-migrants continued to be advertised. Imminent removal through re-migration remained of paramount importance and schemes focused on aiding the acquisition of visas through training.

These efforts did not prevent Kindertransportees from being associated negatively with enemy territories during the war years. Germanophobia, general xenophobia and anti-alienism are all recalled by Kindertransportees as being more significant upon their reception experience than their Jewish status. As London has argued, Jewish refugees were first classified as immigrants and only second as

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[152] Susanne Hein, 'International Refugee Policy and Jewish Immigration', in Frank Caestecker and Bob Moore (eds), *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States* (New York, 2010) 18.
[153] Bolchover, *British Jewry,* 42.
[154] *Ibid*., xii; Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, 270; Kushner, 'Rules of the Game: Britain, America and the Holocaust in 1944', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies,* vol.5, 4 (1990) 384; See also Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice: Antisemitism in British Society during the Second World War* (Manchester, 1989).
[155] Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice,* 166, 184; See also Kushner and Katherine Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide: Global, National and Local perspectives during the Twentieth Century* (London, 1999) 126-216.
[156] Curio, '"Invisible" minors', 41-5; See also Barnett, 'Acculturation of the Kindertransport Minors', 102.

refugees, while their 'Jewish' affiliation was given no position in their status in Britain.[157]

This also meant that they were affected by fears concerning the immigrant competitor in the British labour market. Richard Anthony, J. Parr and Alison MacEwen have each shown that the manner in which immigrant workers were absorbed in Britain sought to protect the British labour market, native workers and general British interests.[158] Kindertransportees were received in a comparable manner, with heavy restrictions upon their daily lives in Britain. This meant, as Buck has also argued, that Kindertransportees were not to receive any welfare advantages over British citizens.[159] The best in education, training, employment and welfare support was to be kept for the British. It is important to note that this did not succeed in preventing them being received as a surplus of cheap and unregulated labour.

These assertions do not intend to suggest that there prevailed an ungenerous or scandalous attitude towards refugees in Britain; rather it hopes to underline that the reception and care of the Kindertransportees was responsive first and foremost to the circumstances of the British public and its institutions. Kindertransportees' care was not of central concern to British philanthropic activity, Jewish and non-Jewish. Bolchover has also drawn attention to the secondary nature of Kindertransportee care to that of Britain's Jewish minors' extensive welfare needs during wartime.[160] With alternative welfare priorities, Kindertransportees became an increasing burden on communities. The reality of this issue meant that their arrival led to a substantial waning of support and enthusiasm. Tydor Baumel supports this view in her evaluation that Anglo-Jewry's initial enthusiasm to aid Kindertransportees waned

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[157] London, 'Jewish Refugees', 186.
[158] See Richard Anthony, 'The Scottish Agricultural Labour Market, 1900-1939: A Case of Institutional Intervention', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, vol. 46, 3 (Aug., 1993) 558-574; J. Parr, 'The skilled emigrant and her kin: gender, culture and labour recruitment', *Canadian Histoical Review,* vol.68 (1987) 529-51; Alison MacEwen, *Gender Segregation and social change; Men and Women in changing labour markets* (Oxford, 1994).
[159] M.L., Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army: War Refugees and Welfare in Britain, 1939-42', *Twentieth Century British History,* vol.10, 3 (1999) 328.
[160] Bolchover, *British Jewry,* 54; Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier', 1.

early on.[161] Flux in support, even from Anglo-Jewry, has too often been overlooked in favour of perceptions of Jewish nationalism and Holocaust narratives, which pander to the 'heritage industry's' notion of a unified Jewish people.[162]

In the wake of the outbreak of war, the Kindertransportees' stay in Scotland was temporarily prolonged as they waited for the first opportunity to emigrate. The elongation of their stay meant that their care and nurture in Scotland, during this period of refuge, became an important element of their lives. However, their experiences during this period are not clearly or certainly unique to the Kindertransportees. This prompts a number of questions: what features distinguished the Kindertransportees' experience of growing up in Scotland? Were these unique to the Kindertransport episode? Is it even useful to approach the Kindertransportees' experiences in relation to Kindertransport history or should their experiences be placed in a broader context of child-welfare history?

This second aspect of my evaluation concentrates on the secular care and nurture of the Kindertransportees in Scotland. What were the main theologies and philanthropic ideas that shaped these secular care experiences? The objective is to challenge popular perceptions that present the Kindertransportees' welfare experiences as a unique phenomenon. Instead, it will be argued that their care was heavily connected to the surrounding welfare norms and social circumstances during the period. Their care in welfare was a major bridging link for them with Scottish minors.

The Kindertransportees were not cared for within an isolated, self-contained, welfare bubble in Britain. Rather, their experiences of reception and care were shaped by and impacted upon an enormous range of broader factors within the social, economic and political spheres. Political changes that were occurring within British philanthropy - including regional welfare facilities in Scotland and Jewish care services nationwide - had an important bearing on the manner of their care. Bolchover refers to this period as one of continued shifts, both in leadership and location of activities, while Finlayson refers to a 'moving frontier' within British

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[161] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee'.

[162] Kushner (ed.), *The Jewish Heritage in British History; Englishness and Jewishness* (London, 1992) 1-4.

welfare.[163] These changes led to new developments in a 'mixed economy of welfare' and introduced new methods, procedures and protocols.[164] The dissemination of welfare became increasingly centralised and management shifted from local bases in Scotland to London headquarters. Braber stresses the continuous problem of a lack of centralised authority in Scotland.[165] This meant, as David Cesarani argues, that, for example, Jewish and refugee provisions were tailored to the preferences of a small collection of London Jewry's males.[166]

Within this welfare framework, the CC pursued a number of objectives in the care of their charges, namely discretion and invisibility.[167] This policy sought immediate Anglicisation by way of total immersion.[168] The CC also relied heavily upon pre-existing welfare structures in Scotland. The circumstances afflicting these welfare services - infrastructure, management, approach and facilities - were the most influential in the Kindertransportees' lives. The theologies and childcare ideas that informed these pre-existing welfare structures were varied and multifaceted.[169] Tydor Baumel and Steinberg both stress in their work that the period in which Kindertransportees were accommodated within Scotland was characterised by experimental approaches to childcare.[170] There was no defined criteria for care.

Although there was a lack of shared guidelines, the approach to placements of minors within the British welfare system tended to adhere to popular ideologies drawn from middle-class social reforming ideas and values. Born from the notion that the working classes monopolised social problems, this infused a degree of class-consciousness into care schemes. John Macnicol points to the pervading ignorance of social problems within the middle classes.[171] Schemes were also informed by a legacy of philanthropic ideology in Scotland, including Calvinism,

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[163] Bolchover, *British Jewry*, 58; Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier', 185.
[164] Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier', 185.
[165] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow,* 35.
[166] Cesarani, *Modern Anglo-Jewry*, 115.
[167] See Kushner, 'The impact of British anti-Semitism'; Curio, '"Invisible" minors'.
[168] London, 'British government policy', 40.
[169] See Lynn Abrams, *The Orphan Country; Children of Scotland's broken homes from 1845 to the present day* (Edinburgh, 1998).
[170] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee', 181*;* Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 27.
[171] John Macnicol, 'The Effect of the Evacuation of Minors on Official Attitudes to State Intervention', in Harold L. Smith (ed.), *War and Social Change* (Manchester, 1986) 3-31.

Environmentalism and Eugenics.[172] These all directed philanthropists to create a care environment deemed suitable for a respectable working-class lifestyle. Care schemes and their respective facilities were informed by perceived working-class ills: want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness.

The centrality of a philanthropic preoccupation with the working classes developed a lower socio-economic character to provisions for Kindertransportees.[173] Within these working-class living environments, Kindertransportees were nurtured towards particular lifestyle eventualities. These were all rooted in the notion of the respectable working classes. Independence and the ability for self-help were fundamental to a respectable working-class life. Titmuss and Abrams point to the emphasis this placed on tackling dependency and pauperism by only offering short-term aid, emphasising training and early employment.[174] The physical standard of care was also based on perceived notions about working-class lifestyle expectations. These were generally basic and devoid of luxuries. Environmentalism and the 'fresh-air' movement encouraged schemes to tackle urban squalor through the advocation of rural lifestyles and outdoor pursuits.[175] Eugenics was also influential in designing schemes aimed at preventing national degeneration and promoting good health.

The care of the Kindertransportees in Scotland was also informed by Scottish philanthropy's heritage of preferred approaches to childcare. This was focused upon the physical rather than the psychological needs of the dependents. New initiatives in psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis had made little impact on welfare approaches in Scotland. Ute Benz's study points to the important steps that were being taken by Anna Freud for childcare approaches during the war.[176] However,

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[172] See Abrams, *The Orphan Country*.
[173] Macnicol, 'The Effect of the Evacuation', 3-31.
[174] See Richard Titmuss, *History of the Second World War: Problems of Social Policy* (London, 1976); Abrams, *The Orphan Country*.
[175] For information on the movement, see Linda Bryder 'Wonderlands of Buttercup, Clover and Daisies; Tuberculosis and the open-air school movement in Britain, 1907-39', in Roger Cooter (ed.), *In the name of the child; Health and welfare, 1880-1940 (*London, 1992) 72 – 91.
[176] Ute Benz, 'Traumatization through Separation: Loss of Family and Home as Childhood Catastrophes', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23 (2004) 85-99.

these developments remained on the periphery of welfare work during the war years. Macnicol and Welshman both underline the persistent ignorance to expressions of psychological problems by care-givers.[177] Richard Titmuss and, later, Abrams have contributed to this discussion by pointing to the general ignorance of hosts to their charges' needs due to the failure of organisors to provide this information.[178] Rainer Kölmel argues that with regards to the refugees in Scotland this scenario was even more acute because of their foreign backgrounds and particular circumstances.[179]

Instead, care prioritised physical control and Behaviourism remained the preferred strategy for dealing with minors. This invited a high degree of regimentation, firm discipline, routine and punishment in care schemes. These strategies pandered to Scottish philanthropy's long tradition of concern and fear for the juvenile delinquent. David Smith has shown how this concern came to the forefront of public anxieties for the domestic wellbeing of the nation during the war years.[180] This led to a number of features in care initiatives, namely collective and remedial management strategies. Despite these intentions, an important feature of the Kindertransportees' care was a distinct lack of supervision and subsequent bad behaviour. The youth group did emerge as an important substitute, filling voids in supervision. [181] Yet, this did not prevent misbehaviour from becoming a problem amongst Kindertransportees.

The nature of these aforementioned welfare provisions and the manner of care they provided were all moulded by the context within which they occurred. The implications of Britain being at war were far-reaching and overarch Tydor Baumel's theory that the bureaucratic shortcomings were the defining factor in the failure of provisions for Jewish minors during evacuation.[182] The war shaped people's daily

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[177] Macnicol, 'The Effect of the Evacuation', 3-31; John Welshman, 'Evacuation and Social Policy During the Second World War: Myth and Reality*', Twentieth Century British History,* vol.9, 1 (1998) 28-53.
[178] Titmuss, *History of the Second World War*, 103; Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 59.
[179] Kölmel, 'Problems of Settlement', 257.
[180] David Smith, 'Official Responses to Juvenile Delinquency in Scotland During the Second World War', *Twentieth Century British History,* 18 (2007) 78-105.
[181] See Tammy Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39', *History Workshop Journal*, No. 45 (Spring, 1998) 103-134.
[182] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee', 177.

lives, creating a unique social situation and a specific position for the Kindertransportee within this scenario. The demands and consequences of war led to a massive disruption in the general pattern of life in Britain. In particular, this created nationwide problems for the community and its institutions and services: welfare, education and hospitals.

The war also affected Jewish life and communal structures. Kushner's evaluation of Anglo-Jewry during this period points to the link between welfare provisions and an overarching breakdown in the very fabric of Jewish life in Britain due to the demands of war.[183] This links to Levin Salmond's evaluation of the 'incalculable' damage by the war to the Jewish social support networks.[184] Abrams presents the war as a catalyst that highlighted pre-existing problems within the community support systems and their institutions' provisions.[185] The war pushed services to their limits and this was particularly true for Jewish education, which suffered an almost total meltdown during the war years. Abrams's work underlines that these issues were not remedied during the war years.[186]

Accordingly, living in Scotland during the war had far reaching implications upon the Jewish lives of the Kindertransportees. The religious life of the Kindertransportees in Scotland was an important aspect of their care and nurturing experience. This aspect of their story has remained highly charged in both the popular imagination and scholarly work about the Kindertransport. At the centre of these debates is the issue of the estrangement of the Kindertransportees from their Jewish roots. This issue has remained one of the main bones of contention in debates about the success or failure of the entire scheme since its formation in 1938. These debates have frequently offered non-pious Kindertransportees an epitaph and mourned this lost generation of Jewish youth due to negligence of their British care-givers.

The religious experience of Kindertransportees in Britain has been narrated too closely to historiographies concerned with fears for Jewish survival post-

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[183] Kushner, 'The impact of British anti-Semitism', 115-137.
[184] Salmond S. Levin (ed.), *A Century of Anglo-Jewish Life, 1870-1970* (London, no date) 69.
[185] Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 170.
[186] Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 170.

Holocaust.[187] This evaluation is problematic because it has adopted a far too simplistic analogy of the issue by reducing blame to the decision of Jewish or non-Jewish care. Other influences were involved in the Kindertransportees' attachment to their Jewish affiliation. All the Kindertransportees underwent a transition in their Jewish lives and approach to religious piety.

Proselytising efforts have unhelpfully become entrenched at the forefront of evaluations of non-Jewish care environments. Conversion was an issue and some Kindertransportees did feel pressurised to adopt alternative theologies. However, others found their Jewish life supported and even strengthened in non-Jewish care environments. In Scotland, the Presbyterian traditions allowed ministers to engage with the Kindertransportees' religious heritage, teaching Hebrew and the Old Testament. Furthermore, the variety of religious affiliation and level of piety amongst the Kindertransportees meant that non-Jewish care was sometimes more appropriate.

Jewish care did not guarantee a Jewish life and did not prevent the alienation of Kindertransportees to their Jewish heritage. On the one hand, Jewish care solutions could safeguard and nurture Jewish piety. Yet it could also prove to be unsuitable and alien to the Kindertransportees, which could equally ostracise the minors.[188] German Jewish communities had evolved over time into very different Jewish communities to those found amongst Anglo-Jewry. They each possessed, for example, their own preferred approach to the theology of Judaism, such as interpretation or implementation. Kindertransportees could feel unable to engage with a new Jewish community who approached Judaism in a very alien way.[189] This was also true for residential facilities, which tended to base their religious engagement upon the preferences of local congregations in Glasgow or Edinburgh. Such facilities adopted a one-size-fits-all approach with a distinct absence of Reform or Liberal influence. Steinberg points to the almost total exclusion of the Reform and Liberal synagogues from the national system and webs of care by the dominant

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[187] Bermant, *Troubled Eden*.

[188] For details on Anglo-Jewry see Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain; 1656 to 2000 (*London, 2002); C. Hutt & HL. Kaplan (eds), *A Scottish Shtetl - Jewish Life in the Gorbals, 1880-1974* (Glasgow, 1984).

[189] Miri Freud-Kandel, *Orthodox Judaism in Britain since 1913; An ideology forsaken (*London, 2006).

Anglo-Jewish communities.[190] This meant that for Kindertransportees who were fortunate enough to have access to Jewish provisions, they often found that they were not suitably catered for.

Inter-communal Jewish prejudices and preconceptions also played a role in alienating Kindertransportees from their Jewish hosts. These ideas could be held by the Kindertransportees or their hosts. In both instances they pertained to clashes between communities, namely the new immigrant classes (*Ostjuden*) with the old establishment of Jewry *(Westjuden*). Kölmel and Stachura both point to the friction that existed within German Jewish society as result of 'mutual contempt'.[191]

Kindertransportees arrived from both *Ostjuden* and *Westjuden* backgrounds and both could struggle to settle within opposing Jewish communities in Scotland. Kölmel has stressed the polar opposite character of the refugees from Germany to those found in Glasgow, but assumes this is because Glasgow's Jewry was predominantly Eastern European in origin and Germany's Jews were the '*Westjuden*'.[192] Berghahn has also ignored the presence of *Ostjuden*, or strict Orthodox Jews, amongst Germany's refugees.[193] Minors from Orthodox homes and synagogues could find it shocking that the main congregations of Scotland no longer possessed a *mechitza* (women's section), while others who had participated in secular or Reform Jewish practices were overwhelmed by the literal approaches to Jewish law and interpretation by their Orthodox hosts.

This situation meant that the cultural activities of Jewish youth often emerged as the central bond between Kindertransportees and Judaism during the war years. What has often been presented as a lost Jewish generation was more accurately a situation in which they adapted to their environments and adopted new bonds to Judaism. Zionism emerged at the forefront of Jewish youth activities in Scotland and this played a central role in the position of Judaism in Kindertransportees' daily lives. Braber notes the importance of Zionism in Scotland for preserving Judaism's

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[190] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 39.
[191] Kölmel, 'Problems of Settlement', 251; Peter D. Stachura, *The German Youth Movement 1900-1945; An Interpretative and Documentary History* (London, 1981) 268.
[192] Kölmel, 'Problems of Settlement', 251.
[193] Berghahn, *Continental Britons,* 21.

position in the increasingly secular community.[194] However, Laurence Silberstein points to the different form of religious exposure that this offered.[195] Zionism created a new understanding of being Jewish within a new social and political framework.

The importance of Zionism for Jewish youth during this period has often either been assumed or completely overlooked. It is important to attribute Zionism its proper place in the story of the Kindertransport. Were the Kindertransportees integrated into the Zionist movement during their time in Scotland? Were they part of the pioneering generation of Jewish youth during this period? Did Zionism really inform the care experience of the Kindertransportees in Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* training centres? The presence of Zionism in the Kindertransport episode and their later lives is not clear. Zionism was never constant or all encompassing and this has caused confusion about its relevance. However, in testimonies it emerges that Zionism was one of the most significant political, social and cultural influences upon many of their lives during and after this period.

Within official channels, Zionism remained a popular ideology around which schemes could be tailored. It was not only pushed forward as a suitable approach to the care of the Kindertransportees by ardent Zionist supporters, but was also supported by the mainstream Jewish institutions, such as the BOD and the CC. Pre-*hachsharot* training centres and Zionist youth groups were established across the country to cater for Jewish migrants with the intention of preparing them for making *Aliyah* (emigration) to Palestine. Scotland possessed two pre-*hachsharot* – Whittingehame Farm School and Polton House - and these exclusively catered for Kindertransportees.

Despite its official popularity, informally Zionism did not convince all Kindertransportees or care-givers of its merits. Not all Kindertransportees adopted its ideology and lifestyle ambitions. The bureaucratic or official foundations of the pre-*hachsharot* centres were based on Zionist designs. However, the role of key Zionist personages, organisations and benefactors subsided after the initial enthusiasm for establishing the centre. This meant that beyond the official capacity

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[194] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow,* 117.

[195] Laurence Silberstein, 'Toward a Postzionist Discourse', in Miriam Peskowitz and Laura Levitt (ed.) *Judaism since Gender, (*New York, 1997) 93.

of governance and finance, the largest influences upon the residents' daily lives often came from non-Zionist and even non-Jewish sources. These included regional customs, perceptions and practices preferred by the Scottish Education Department. These features often contradicted the socialist utopian dream of Zionist pioneers. They also altered the daily management of the centres and the practical application of the scheme, diluting the *halutzic* ideology advocated by Zionists.

The extent to which pre-*hachsharot* residents' broader life stories were shaped by Zionism is not always clear, yet it does become apparent that the fundamental experience of growing up within a residential facility did have far-reaching implications upon Kindertransportees' life histories. Interviewees argue that they had a particular type of uprbringing and nurturing experience due to the specific features of a residential centre. This experience, they argue, had personal ramifications upon their later life. This aspect of the Kindertransport story has too frequently been neglected by historians. Dorit Whiteman and Ruth Barnett have both considered the psychological implications of the Kindertransport upon the Kindertransportees, but failed to connect these impressions to their historical context.[196] In this thesis, I wish to connect the individual's experiences of growing up within residential care with evaluations of the event and to connect these findings to the contruction of life narratives by Kindertransportees.

It will be argued that important parrallels emerge between Kindertransportees' personal narratives and broader British public narratives concerning the Scottish child in institutional care. In 1946, the Clyde Report highlighted multifaceted problems that they believed were afflicting Scotland's deprived children living within residential facilities.[197] The report outlined a number of key features that characterised an institutional environment and the likely nurturing experience this would provide for the deprived child. In doing so, the report substantiated previous research by psychiatrists and social theorists, and

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[196] Dorit Bader Whiteman, *The Uprooted: A Hitler Legacy: Voices of Those Who Escaped Before the 'Final Solotion'* (New York, 1993); Ruth Barnett, 'The Other Side of the Abyss: A Psychodynamic Approach to Working with Groups of People who Came to England as Children on the Kindertransporte', *British Journal of Psychotherapy,* vo.12, 2 (1995) 178-194.

[197] See Bob Holman, 'Fifty Years Ago: the Curtis and Clyde Reports', *Children and Society,* vol.10 (1996).

highlighted a wide array of likely psychological problems that may arise as a consequence of an institutional upbringing.[198] The Kindertransportees' narratives echo the findings of these evaluations. In doing so, Kindertransportees connect themselves to the experiences of the Scottish child in care.

Kindertransportees use their experiences of residential care to explain the way in which their lives have unfolded. Residential care was felt to have imposed a completely new living environment and upbringing. This was felt to be devoid of familial variables and could not substitute a family or home environment. It is recalled as institutional in nature and conducive to institutionalisation. This had a cloistering effect upon Kindertransportees, making it difficult for them to re-engage with society and family life once outside the confines of the institution. Furthermore, the nurturing experience within this institutional environment was felt to have afforded minimal attention to individual or psychological needs. Kindertransportees believe that they were given no substitute parental figure or even constant adult supervision. This, they argue, caused them to misbehave. In later life, the experience led to a preoccupation with re-creating a 'normal life' and re-imagining the 'Jewish family'.

Kindertransportees also believe that their institutional experience was directly responsible for an array of psychological scars. The extent to which these problems actually arose directly because of residential care is not certain, but Kindertransportees do choose to make this connection. Barnett's research has pointed to a number of distinguishing psychological marks that developed amongst Kindertransportees due to the overarching stress of their predicament in Britain.[199] These included the desire to 'fit in' and to be 'normal', which created a prevalence for appeasement and obliging behaviour. Berghahn has also noted that there emerged a tendency to continuously adopt and disband social habits amongst refugee minors.[200] This, Berghahn argues, was the result of their distinctive traumatic experience and subsequent psychological instability following loss and separation.[201]

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[198] See also John Bowlby, *Maternal Care and Mental Health* (London, 1950).
[199] Ruth Barnett, *By the Rivers of Babylon: A Kindertransportee's Experience of Uprooting, Exile and Reconciliation* (unknown) 2.
[200] Berghahn, *Continental Britons*, 300.
[201] *Ibid.*

Underscoring these evaluations remains another central query to this research project: what were the longer-term implications of growing up in Scotland upon the Kindertransportees? Was there any relevance to the specific Scottish geographic locality? These questions are seeking to reflect upon the relevance of the Scottish aspect of this thesis. The crux to this research question is the extent to which Scotland's Kindertransportees perceive their connection to Scotland and whether indeed they perceive themselves to be Scottish. Resettlement choices are a useful physical indicator for this evaluation. To what extent did Kindertransportees choose to remain in Scotland? Does there appear to be a Scottish legacy upon their broader life stories? Has this shaped their resettlement choices? Statistical information indicates that the vast majority of Scotland's Kindertransportees (87%) left Scotland.[202] What reasons lie behind the apparent mass exodus of Kindertransportees from Scotland? Should this be accepted as an indicator of Scotland's minimal relevance in their lives?

The position of Scotland in the Kindertransportees' lives is ambiguous and varies from individual to individual. Forced migration and temporary resettlement in Scotland was not an easy process for the minors. Their integration into their host community in Scotland was by no means a foregone conclusion; alienation, social instability and a sense of not belonging mark many Kindertransportees' experiences during the war years. Berghahn has offered an important contribution to this field of research and points to the problem of previous scholars adopting a simplistic view of the linear transition of refugees into a new community.[203] The Kindertransportees could continue to feel bound to their points of origin and respective socio-cultural heritage.

It is important not to overlook the relevance of nationalism and jingoism amongst Kindertransportees for their countries of origin. Scottish Kindertransportees recall their homesickness during the war years. This was not only for their families but also their nation and its geographic landscape. Peter Gay underlines that the Jewish community of Germany felt themselves to be German before Jewish.[204] This

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[202] KA:QU/SUP.
[203] Berghahn, *Continental Britons*, 9; Berghahn, 'German Jews in England', 288.
[204] Peter Gay, *Freud, Jews and other Germans: Masters and Victims in Modernist culture* (New York, 1978) 95.

also points to the prevalence of minors on the Kindertransport who had not previously known that they were Jewish and felt in every respect attached to their national origins. Stachura highlights the jingoistic tendency of the Gymnasium and German youth movement, to which many Kindertransportees had been a part. [205] These played a crucial role in the indoctrination of minors to support the *Heimat* (homeland). The minors did not automatically reject these connections at the borders of their homelands. Gottlieb's research also places emphasis on the many Jewish refugees who opposed Hitler whilst continuing to feel loyalty to the 'Fatherland' and planned to return after the war to help reconstruct the country.[206] Ugolini's research has also pointed to the potential for 'divided loyalties' amongst other migrants in Scotland during the war.[207]

However, as the war years progressed and as the Kindertransportees matured, learning more about the atrocities committed in Greater Germany, there did occur an increased tendency to reject their attachment to their points of origin. In doing so, the significance of Scotland in their lives was boosted. Kindertransportees sometimes tried to hide their foreign origins or connections to the Nazi state and wished to present Scotland as their point of origin. This has meant that Scotland has remained of paramount importance in clarifying group membership for Kindertransportees, even if they chose to migrate from Scotland.

The Kindertransportees' migration patterns do not unravel these complex connections to Scotland. Neither do they clarify the role of Scotland in their lives. Predominantly shaped by a tripartite structure, due to their trans-migrant status in Britain, there was, however, no 'typical' migration pattern and it becomes apparent that an array of different influences informed their choices. These were not all specific to the Kindertransportees, nor were they all connected to Scotland. The re-migration of Kindertransportees from Scotland was not only the result of the 'push' factors of Scotland, but, as T.H. Hollingsworth explains, the 'pull' factor also drew many away from Scotland.[208] Migration decisions suggest the relevance of similar

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[205] Stachura, *The German Youth Movement,* 23.
[206] Zahl Gottlieb, *Men of Vision*; Black, review of Gottlieb, 'Men of Vision'.
[207] Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy 'OTHER'', 154.
[208] Rowland Berthoff, review of T. H. Hollingsworth, 'Migration: A Study Based on Scottish Experience between 1939 and 1964', *International Migration Review*, vol.5,

concerns held by young Scots seeking personal betterment and greater opportunities. Hollingsworth's study also points to the correlation that can be found between Kindertransportee migration from Scotland and emigration of native Scots post-war.[209]

These migration trends and subsequent resettlement choices overrode the Kindertransportees' attachment to Scotland. This has meant that Scotland's Kindertransportees often perceive themselves as members of a Scottish diaspora. Kindertransportees in America, Israel and other distant locations continue to advocate their Scottish roots and heritage. The legacy of Scotland for these Kindertransportees is most visible in prevalent nostalgic longing for all things perceived as Scottish, whether it arrives in the form of a kilt, accent or connection with other Scottish migrants. Kindertransportees also express Scottish nationalism and abhorrence to the definitive Scottish 'other', the Englishman or (in their words) the *Sassenach*.

Structure

The research questions of this project inform six thematic chapters. Each chapter has focused on a different element of the event and experience. Chapter one is an evaluation of the manner in which the Kindertransportees were received in Scotland, with particular consideration to the hosts themselves and Britain's reception policy for trans-migrant minors. This considers the competing narratives within Kindertransport historiography. These have simplified issues, ignored the broader picture and sometimes failed to place criticisms within the context of British immigration policy and welfare procedure. The reception of the Kindertransportees by their British hosts has frequently been pitted within two camps. The 'thankful narrative' and 'critical narratives' will both be challenged.

In chapter One, I question the realism of those who attach a badge of honour to Britain for altruistic motivations and kindred spirit towards Jewish refugees in need. Did Britain really act selflessly towards the Kindertransportees? Were not

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[209] *Ibid.*

Britons' interests held paramount over those of foreign temporary migrants? Was this not also true for Anglo-Jewry? This does not intend to strengthen some Holocaust narratives, which can stress exclusion and victim-hood. Instead, I hope to show that the reception of the Kindertransportees must always be placed within the broader picture.

Chapter Two develops this argument and is focused on the secular care provisions provided for the Kindertransportees within both trans-migrant facilities and pre-existing Scottish welfare schemes. This also asks whether it is useful or even possible to consider the Kindertransportees' care within a Kindertransportee historiography. It will be argued that in addition to plans to cater specifically to the trans-migrant situation of the Kindertransportees, an array of ideological ideas rooted in Britain informed the manner of their care.

Chapter Three progresses this discussion in relation to the religious nurturing experience of the Kindertransportees in Scotland. This questions the extent to which the Kindertransportees' religious lives in Britain should be attributed with an epitaph. Did inadequacies in Jewish care provisions for Kindertransportees really lead to a lost generation of Jewish youth? It is argued that it is inappropriate to use the term 'estrangement' from Judaism for the Kindertransportees. Their experiences, pre-, during and post-war informed a new understanding of Judaism and relationship with Jewish people.

Chapter Four tackles the relationship between Zionism and the Kindertransport episode. This questions the role of Zionism in the care of the Kindertransportees within Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* centres: Whittingehame Farm School and Polton House. To what extent did these centres connect the Kindertransportees to Zionism? Were the political *Halutzic* ambitions of Zionist philanthropists maintained within the pre-*hachsharot* centres in Scotland? Were the Kindertransportees successfully indoctrinated towards these ideals? This chapter explores the dichotomy between the 'diaspora Jew' and the 'pioneering Jew'. This argues that it was not straightforward or even easy to indoctrinate the Kindertransportees towards a pioneering lifestyle.

Chapter Five considers the relationship between private memory or personal narrative with public narratives and popular historical consciousness. This will

evaluate Kindertransportees' testimonies regarding the impact and personal repercussions of spending their formative years within Scotland's residential care facilities. This seeks to show that Kindertransportees have established a strong link between the experience of an adolescents spent in residential care and broader life stories. In doing so, Kindertransportees have reiterated dominant themes that emerge in the story of the deprived Scottish child in care and stress similar personal ramifications.

These ideas have been continued in the final chapter, which considers the Scottish legacy in respect to patterns of migration and resettlement. Why have certain patterns emerged, most notably the apparent mass exodus of Scotland's Kindertransportees from Scotland? This exploration considers not only the role of Scotland in these choices, but also their trans-migrant status, their connection to a wider movement of displaced refugees and the influence of post-war demographic shifts in Britain. This will reveal the phenomenon that is the Scottish Kindertransportee diaspora community.

Scotland played host to an estimated 8% of Kindertransportees sheltered in Britain during the Second World War. What were these Kindertransportees' experiences of reception, care and nurture in Scotland? What bearing did this experience have upon their lives?

Chapter One

Scottish philanthropy's reception of the Kindertransportees: A kindred spirit for refugees or a damage control strategy for problematic Jewish migrants?

> [Scottish people] they were delightful, people say they are very stingy, but that is not true at all they are really generous.[1]

> It was shocking, we were ill-treated. When we arrived we were searched and stripped and everything in our cases was taken out and misappropriated … it was pretty poor … from a hygiene point of view, a few people were very badly injured … it was not nice, it was traumatic.[2]

The reception of the Kindertransportees in Britain has often been portrayed as an emblem of the altruistic nature of British philanthropy and publicly celebrated as an example of the nation's humanitarian spirit.[3] This, it has been argued, set Britain apart, as a heroic nation which embraced thousands of desperate Jews from Greater Germany in their time of need.[4] This narrative often vilifies nations that did not admit as many refugees as Britain – the United States, South Africa, Canada or Australia – and presents the Kindertransport as a badge of honour for Britain. It has also ignored the relevance of anti-Semitism or alien hostility from the host nation to the new arrivals. In doing so, it has perpetuated certain images of the child migrants themselves and their reception experience in Britain. These images, which were also used during the period, promote the idea of the desirable migrant and nurtured a celebratory concept of the migration experience.

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[1] FWPC/Ranita.
[2] Wiener Library, Association of Jewish Refugees oral history collection, 150 interviews by Bea Leckowitz (WL/BL), no.74.
[3] Stephen Adams, 'Sir Nicholas Winton the British Schindler meets the Holocaust survivors he helped save', *The Telegraph,* 4 September 2009.
[4] 'WWII Rescue train trip recreated', BBC News, 4 September 2009.

The dominant narrative, discussed above, has advertised the migrant as abounding with gratitude and loyalty to Britain.[5] It has also led to the emergence of celebrated figures, such as Nicholas Winton, towards whom gratitude and an uncritical celebratory narrative has emerged.[6] This unbalanced interpretation of the event and the experience have been perpetuated by films and television broadcasts, which celebrate the 'heroism' and underline the overall success story.[7] Caroline Sharples has debated the need to go 'beyond the celebratory' narrative and challenge popular images of the 'smiling policeman', in order to form a more critical understanding of the Kindertransportees' reception in Britain.[8] Kushner has also argued that there is an absence of 'critical reflection' and that this has led to a high degree of 'irredeemable sentimentalism' to emerge in the narrative of the Kindertransport episode.[9] This tends to detail a monolithic, successful reception experience in Britain as well as the heroic work of the refugee organisation.[10] Kushner argues that the 'happy ending' story dominates evaluations and this has reduced evaluations to the 'issue of good over evil'.[11] Sharples believes that this has produced a 'safe story' with 'clear-cut heroes and villains'.[12]

These tendencies have also established a form of competition within Kindertransport narratives. Supporters of the positive 'reassuring narrative framework' have sometimes actively sought to prevent Kindertransportees or researchers contradicting their preferred narrative.[13] Sharples' critical article in *History Today* received a dogmatic reply from Leonard Smith, who entitled his reply

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[5] See Bentwich, *They found refuge*; 'The Kindertransport Story', BBC broadcast, IPlayer 29 April 2009; John Presland, 'A Great Adventure; The story of the Refugee Children's Movement', *RoK*; FWPC/Sarah, Noah.

[6] Robert Hall, 'Czech evacuees thank their savior,' BBC News, 4 September 2009; Stephen Adams, 'Sir Nicholas Winton the British Schindler meets the Holocaust survivors he helped save,' *The Telegraph,* 4 September 2009.

[7] 'WWII Rescue', BBC; 'Into the Arms of Strangers'.

[8] Caroline Sharples, replies. *History Today* (May, 2004) vol.54, 5.

[9] Kushner, 'The Kinder: A Case of Selective Memory?', in Kushner *Remembering Refugees, Then and Now* (Manchester, 2006) 144.

[10] Turner, 'Policeman smiled'; Alan Gill, *Interrupted Journeys: Young Refugees from Hitler's Reich* (Sydney, 2004), 156.

[11] *Ibid*. 144-145.

[12] Sharples, 'Kindertransport; Terror, Trauma and Triumph', *History Today*, (March, 2004) vol. 54, 3.

[13] Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy 'OTHER'', 143.

'Thank God for the Kindertransport' and argued that 'by any standards, the efforts of a dedicated band of people in Britain … was a cause for celebration'.[14] Ugolini's research has shown that this tendency is not uncommon, whereby the 'elite discourse gains dominance' and interviewees express apprehension of saying the wrong thing.[15]

However, the uniformity of this positive interpretation has prompted some alternative, more critical, minority views to be put forward. These are predominantly in the form of Kindertransportee testimonies rather than critical academic evaluations. These tend to aggressively challenge the authenticity of positive Kindertransportee testimony and subsequent histories of the Kindertransport. Murphy has shown that this often emerges when participants of a historical episode feel that 'their story was not being represented'.[16] This is particularly true amongst Scottish Kindertransportees, who express frustration that their Scottish experience has not been included in the 'English' Kindertransport story.[17] Such testimonies often seek to criticise the 'English' story and its prevalence for expressing 'deep gratitude to the people and Parliament of the United Kingdom'.[18]

These approaches, overtly positive or critical, are both problematic, because they form an unbalanced interpretation. They have formed a gulf between interpretations of the Kindertransport. This has encouraged the oversimplification and relegation of interpretations and narratives into two camps. These tend to focus on the level of altruism amongst their British hosts. Critical narratives stress an unsuccessful reception experience due to inadequate and un-humanitarian characteristics of British philanthropy. In contrast, successful narratives stress the generous welcome and heroic hospitality of hosts.

This chapter is concerned with challenging both these narratives in order to show that the Kindertransportees' reception in Scotland was far more complex and multifaceted than these interpretations have previously credited. It will be shown that broader factors influenced the nature of their reception in Scotland. It is

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[14] Leonard Smith, 'Thank God for the Kindertransport', *History Today* (May 2004) vol. 54, 5.
[15] Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy 'OTHER'', 143.
[16] Murphy, 'Memory, Identity and public narrative', 310.
[17] FWPC/Rachel, Edna, Marthe.
[18] *RoK* (title page); FWPC/Josephina, Rachel.

particularly important to clarify these interpretations because, as the Kindertransport has received increasing media coverage and commemorative authority, an increasingly naïve collective narrative about the episode has emerged in the public imagination.[19] The Kindertransport now possesses its own collection of memorials, most notably in Britain the 1999 statue errected outside Liverpool Street station. These reiterate the preferred image and narrative of the Kindertransport episode; vulnerable children rescued by the British Government. Kushner has referred to this situation as the result of the dangers of the 'heritage industry', which lends itself to the romanticisation and distortion of historical episodes.[20] Cesarani has also touched on the problem of the 'commercial exploitation' of nostalgia, which is a particular problem within the public commemorations of the Kindertransport episode.[21] Current events, such as the 50th, 60th and 70th anniversary celebrations of the Kindertransport, have perpetuated this positive lopsided narrative.[22]

Minority views have become ostracised from these national events, mainly because they seek to cut against the grain of the moral of the story. The moral has emphasised a positive lesson learnt by the trans-migrant experience. In contrast, critical interpretations of the Kindertransport have become increasingly popular within Holocaust commemorations and related cinematic explorations.[23] This has encouraged the Kindertransport to be portrayed in a melodramatic form.[24] They have become aligned with Holocaust narratives that stress trauma, loss and victimhood during this period.

This chapter offers a reinterpretation to remove distortions and unwarranted enthusiasm for certain interpretations of the Kindertransport. It will argue that neither the celebratory nor the critical narrative offers a representative evaluation of the event and experience. That, in terms of the Kindertransportees' reception

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[19] 'The Kindertransport Story', BBC (2009).
[20] Kushner, 'The end of the 'Anglo-Jewish Progress Show: Representations of the Jewish East End, 1887-1987', in Kushner (ed.) *The Jewish heritage in British History; Englishness and Jewishness* (London, 1992) 97.
[21] Cesarani, 'Dual Heritage or Duel of Heritages? Englishness and Jewishness in the Heritage Industry', in Kushner (ed.) *The Jewish Heritage,* 29.
[22] *RoK*.
[23] 'The Reunion', BBC Radio 4 (FM only), 12 September 2010; 'The Kindertransport Story', BBC (2009).
[24] Sharples, 'Kindertransport'.

experience in Scotland, an alternative picture emerges. This evaluation does point to some aspects of both the celebratory and critical narratives, yet it also shows a less exclusive and theatrical episode, moulded by the broader picture in Britain. The Kindertransportee's reception in Scotland was fundamentally shaped by a number of terms associated with their status in Britain. These were ascribed to them officially and unofficially. Officially, the Kindertransportees were not received as 'Kindertransportees', but as dependent temporary trans-migrants and alien immigrants. They were also presented to the public with important associated labels: as children who had been the innocent victims of Nazi atrocities, as non-Aryans rather than Jews, orphans for potential adoption in the future, members of a respectable social class with wealthy backgrounds, Jewish co-religionists from a foreign nation and migrants of exemplary good characters. These associations were not always positive. They were also connected to concerns about the dangerous migrant threatening British austerity, the temptress degrading moral sensibility, the enemy spy looming in the midst and the influx of more members of the 'Jewish problem' for Britain.[25]

These associated labels determined particular features of their reception in Scotland. These features were not unkind nor were they purely altruistic. Rather, they were responsive to the Kindertransportees' status in Britain and the terms associated with this circumstance. The implications of these labels will be examined in the context of the subsequent national, political, economic and social features they produced: national agendas and official procedures for their formal reception, the philanthropic transitions that occurred to form new reception structures for the trans-migrants, the economic infrastructure that determined the manner of their reception and the social situation into which the Kindertransportees were received.

National agendas for the Jewish trans-migrant in Britain

The reception of the Kindertransportees in Scotland was shaped by priorities to protect the national, economic and social status quo. As London has argued,

[25] See Louise London, 'British government policy and Jewish refugees, 1933-1945', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 23 (1989/90), 26-43; Kushner, 'The impact of British anti-Semitism'.

Britain's reception of 'Jewish refugees' provided no special favours for the migrants.[26] Instead, it was rooted in 'caution and pragmatism', which was shaped by British wants and needs.[27] Foremost, the Kindertransportees were not received as 'Kindertransportees', but were deemed Jewish trans-migrants from foreign and later enemy territory, an association that carried a multitude of potential dangers for Britain. Anglo-Jewry were particularly concerned about the impact that an influx of destitute Jewish migrants could have upon their status quo. Kushner and Todd Endelman both argue that anti-Semitism, or the threat of anti-Semitism, was a real problem for Anglo-Jewry at the time.[28]

This meant that a fear of anti-Semitism became a central feature in the official reception afforded to the Kindertransportees by Anglo-Jewry. Dolf Michaelis and Eva Michaelis-Stern have also argued that Anglo-Jewry felt threatened by the potential consequences of a mass influx of Jewish migrants into Britain.[29] Anglo-Jewry, they write, united to 'defend themselves' against the perceived danger that threatened to provoke hostility.[30] Eugene Black argues that this defence was predominantly led by the 'interlocking cousinhood of wealth and privilege' within Anglo-Jewry, who fought to protect their gains in Britain.[31] Kushner's research on the 'persistence of prejudice' has argued that there was a real continuation of domestic hostility to Jews in Britain and that this ensured that Anglo-Jewry were keenly aware of their close proximity to this danger. This placed the need to protect their 'emancipation contract' and prevent provocation of the gentile community at the forefront of reception policies.[32] In an interview in 2007, John Grenville argued that Anglo-Jewry's defensive behaviour was relatively normal and to be expected.[33] Grenville argued that as an 'established minority', they felt 'threatened' by the large

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[26] London, 'Jewish Refugees', 164; See also London, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933-1948: British Immigration Policy, Jewish Refugees and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, 2001).
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] Kushner, 'British anti-Semitism', in Cesarani (ed.) *Modern Anglo-Jewry,* 192; Endelman, *The Jews of Britain,* 198.
[29] Dolf Michaelis and Eva Michaelis-Stern, *Emissaries In Wartime London; 1938-1945* (Jerusalem, 1989) 14.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] Eugene Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry: 1880-1920* (Oxford, 1998) 389.
[32] Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice,* 66.
[33] WL/BL/150.

influx of 'the same minority who are not yet assimilated'. This produced a practical, cautious and pragmatic approach to the Kindertransportees' reception in Britain, which was motivated by self-preservation.

Concern for the prevention of anti-Semitism meant that the reception of the Kindertransportees was responsive to fear and characterised by damage-control strategies. In 1941, the CC disseminated a circular across Britain intended to tackle misconceptions about Jews, entitled 'Jews Some Plain Facts'.[34] The popular press was another important tool for influencing the reception of the new arrivals. It provided a means for promoting certain images and a particular public understanding of the Kindertransportees. At the forefront was the desire to express the desirability of the new arrivals and the limited impact they would have on the British public. Articles sought to underline that the Kindertransportees would not be a financial burden on the British taxpayer. Press reports emphasised that it was the Jewish community that would be financing the new arrivals.[35] In July 1938, the *Scotsman* reported of the success of the 'Glasgow Appeal', whereby 'Glasgow-Jewry raised £10,000 for the relief of refugee Jewish children' at a luncheon by B'nai B'rith.[36] In December 1938, the *Scotsman* also highlighted the 'abundance of gifts' for the newcomers, suggesting that they would not require any additional supplies.[37] Later in the month a report of the arrival of Kindertransportees in Edinburgh emphasised that even the 'poorest' members of the Jewish communities were caring for the new arrivals.[38]

Anglo-Jewry also prioritised discretion in the reception process and dictated that the Kindertransportees should be received inconspicuously with minimal public attention. This was in line with normal national protocols for dealing with refugees. Kushner argues that 'the state, whether at a national or local level, has regarded the invisibility of refugees as the second best option if exclusion has proved impossible or illegal'.[39] This sought to preserve the status quo by encouraging the invisibility of

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[34] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Circular No. 125 of CC, April 1941.
[35] *Scotsman*, 28 December 1938.
[36] *Scotsman*, 26 July 1938.
[37] *Scotsman*, 3 December 1938.
[38] *Scotsman*, 27 December 1938.
[39] Kushner, *Remembering Refugees,* 145.

the new arrivals.[40] To achieve this, Kindertransportees tended to be scattered to reception areas across Scotland to avoid refugee enclaves. Kushner refers to this as a 'policy of dispersal', whereby Kindertransportees would be filtered individually into various neighbourhoods, with few amenities to enable them to regroup.[41] Their reception would preferably create social isolation for an individual in a private home in a remote location. Jan was shocked to learn that other Kindertransport children attended her school in Pollokshields.[42] She recalls that no effort was made to connect these Kindertransportees to others who lived in close proximity. Jan recalls that she felt contact with other Kindertransportees was 'frowned upon'.[43] Benson recalls that, although Kindertransportees lived in relative close proximity, he did not have contact with them: 'I knew one or two of my foster aunt's friends had taken in a Kindertransport child, but the meetings were … no.'[44] Kindertransportees in urban hostels were also not encouraged to form enclaves with other local trans-migrants. Rachel stayed in the Quaker hostel, which was in close proximity to the Garnethill synagogue, but recalls having minimal interaction with the Kindertransportees:

> I had to begin with no contact with Glasgow's Jewish community. When I stayed in the hostel, only once do I remember going up to the boys' hostel for Passover, a Seder meal.[45]

Alternatively, Kindertransportees were received together in residential facilities – Whittingehame Farm School and Polton House - isolated from surrounding communities.

A fear that the new arrivals might provoke undue hostility and a rise in anti-Semitism meant that efforts were made to minimise the relevance of their Jewish heritage.[46] A fear for the link between anti-Semitism and the growth in strength of National Socialism encouraged support for this strategy. Articles frequently referred

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[40] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, circular no.121 of Central Council, 2 December 1941; Kushner and Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide,* 126-216.
[41] Kushner, *Remembering Refugees*, 145.
[42] FWPC/Jan.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] FWPC/Benson.
[45] FWPC/Rachel.
[46] Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice,* 153.

to the children as 'non-Aryans' rather than Jews.[47] The *Scotsman* devoted articles to explain the existence of non-Jewish Jewish refugee.[48] These reports suggested the accidental and limited strength of their Jewish association. In November 1938, the *Scotsman* reported the plight of 'a little Austrian boy of partly Jewish blood'.[49] In May 1939, the *Scotsman* explained that a significant number of German 'Jews' had never previously realised they were Jewish and that many of these people had previously been members of the Hitler Youth and soldiers in the German army.[50] In later years, when the popular press sought financial support and hospitality from the general public, it focused on the Christian Kindertransportees. [51]

This strategy meant that the Kindertransportees were labelled and received primarily as refugees and foreigners. *The Times* almost totally excluded references to the Kindertransportees' Jewish affiliation in reports about their settlement in Britain. Instead, articles solely referred to the new arrivals as the refugees of various foreign origins.[52] Between 1938 and 1946, only six articles appear with reference to the 'Jewish refugees', while 159 reported on the 'refugees'. [53] In February 1939, *The Times* referred to the 'Polish refugee children' entering Britain, with only one discreet reference to their Jewish affiliation.[54]

In the absence of Jewish associations, the label 'refugee' sought to clarify carefully their trans-migrant status without connotations of enemy alien status. At the Annual Refugee Conference of 1942, discussions focused on the 'ideological war' that was being fought by the refugee organisations in order to prevent the general public from perceiving the refugees as enemy aliens.[55] In Scotland, extensive regional planning and consideration for a suitable term was granted to reduce their impact. The Scottish National Council (SNC) afforded a large amount of time to clarify the correct public designations to be used in reference to the new

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[47] *Scotsman*, 8 November 1938.
[48] *Scotsman,* 8 May 1939.
[49] *Scotsman,* 8 November 1938.
[50] *Scotsman,* 8 May 1939.
[51] *Scotsman*, 8 November 1938, 16 March 1939.
[52] *The Times,* 11, 28 January 1939, 16 February 1939.
[53] *The Times* digital archive.
[54] *The Times*, 16 February 1939.
[55] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Report of Annual Refugee Conference, 18-19 January 1942.

trans-migrants in the region.[56] In an effort to clarify them as different from 'German Germans', the SNC agreed that the description 'Refugee from Nazi (or Fascist) Oppression' was self-explanatory.[57] It was felt that this was sufficient to combat enemy alien associations with the new arrivals without drawing unnecessary attention to their Jewish heritage.

The preference of Anglo-Jewry for a 'refugee' status for Kindertransportees, rather than emphasising their Jewish allegiances, did not safeguard the minors from being received as enemy aliens. Bernard Gainer's research has stressed that the public reaction to the 'Alien invasion' during World War One developed into extreme forms of Germanophobia, whereby Dachshunds were found disembowelled.[58] This situation emerged once again during the Second World War.[59] This became increasingly overt as contingency plans for safeguarding Britain's home front from the enemy during wartime developed. This prioritised the control and policing of any potential enemy alien spies. The fear of the 'alien invasion' peaked in May 1940 and public support shifted towards internment of all foreign nationals. The popular press suggests that during this period there was little opposition to the move. In August 1940, one reader of the *Scotsman* wrote that he knew a refugee who feared 'Nazi agents in this country' were watching him.[60] The writer concluded that, due to this threat, he believed it was also in the refugee's interest to be interned. *The Times* had already declared by 14 September 1939 that 'it is indeed right that the public should be ceaselessly on their guard, but they need not constitute themselves unofficial bloodhounds'.[61] In May 1940, a meeting of the philanthropic refugee organisations at Bloomsbury House underlined their support for the Government's internment policy.[62] In the summer of 1940, the Central

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[56] HLSC/MS183/384/F2, minutes of Refugee Joint Consultative Committee, 17 July 1941.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion* (London, 1972) 207.
[59] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Circular no.12 of CC, 29 December 1941; Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, 270.
[60] *Scotsman*, 12 August 1940.
[61] *The Times*, 14 September 1939.
[62] Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice,* 174.

Council (CC) had instructed refugees to spy on one another.[63] These formal moves suggest a high level of fear and distrust by Anglo-Jewry towards their co-religionists.

As a result, the reception policy for the Kindertransportees was based on these national security concerns and was heavily marked by a period of distrust by the general population. For 9% of Scotland's Kindertransportees, this feature of their reception experience in Scotland was epitomised in their eventual classification as enemy aliens and by internment.[64] In July 1940, 11 Kindertransportees at Whittingehame Farm School who had turned 16 were required to 'appear before a Tribunal' in Edinburgh.[65] A teacher at Whittingehame, William Drew, wrote in 1940 of the distrust by the tribunal of the training schools' *Kupah* (communal bank).[66] Edna, a pupil at Whittingehame, recalls that 'anti-Semitism was not a factor, but as soon as war broke out anti-alienism was felt very strongly by us … In Germany we were considered as Jews and in Britain we were considered as Germans, as enemy aliens'.[67] Leslie Brent was fostered in Portobello and believes that his reception was marked by a lack of distinction between a 'German German who was potentially a spy or potentially a Nazi and a Jewish German, who had just escaped from Germany as a refugee and who was as anti-German as they were'.[68] Many Kindertransportees who were deemed friendly aliens were still received as potential spies and threats to the national interest.

Anti-alien feeling and official protocol for security against aliens could produce less than favourable reception experiences. Bernard Wasserstein argues that this developed a varied pattern of tolerance and intolerance.[69] The second quotation used to open this chapter is from an interview with Henry Wuga and recounts his traumatic reception experience during internment.[70] Wuga was shunted around 'internment' facilities. These included St Vincent Street remand home, which was also used for those awaiting sentence as juvenile offenders or children in need of care

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[63] *Ibid.*
[64] KA:QU/SUP.
[65] MCPC, William Drew, letter, 23 July 1940.
[66] *Ibid.*
[67] FWPC/Edna, e-mail correspondence, 8 July 2010.
[68] WL/BL/72.
[69] Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe 1939 – 1945* (New York, 1979) 79.
[70] WL/BL/74.

and protection, Mary Hill's Barracks in Glasgow with a number of German prisoners of war, Donaldson School in Edinburgh, an institution for deaf and dumb children, York Race Course internment camp and later Warth Mills internment camp before finally being sent to Peel camp on the Isle of Man. Wuga recalls the whole experience of incarceration as being traumatic and unsettling. Wuga gave the opening quotation for this chapter in reference to his reception at Warth Mills camp, a disused cotton mill. Wuga's case was not unusual. Norman Bentwich recorded that 40 of Whittingehame's male students over 16 were eventually interned in a 'barricaded racecourse' in Edinburgh.[71] Hano Fry was interned for three months in 1940 before being released to continue his studies.[72]

The trans-migrant status of the Kindertransportees was also advertised by Anglo-Jewry as a means to combat or quell any hostility against the potential influx of permanent Jewish migrants. Information given to the general public about reception facilities, such as Whittingehame, reiterated their fundamental goal for training the young migrants for life abroad and their 'imminent departure'.[73] The British Government also made efforts to promote a general understanding of the temporary nature of the trans-migrants' entrance to Britain. In November 1938, the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, explained his stance on refugees, declaring that 'refugees who intend to be trans-migrants are generously treated and special consideration is given to young children'.[74] Herbert Morrison, appointed as Home Secretary in October 1940, underlined that the Kindertransportees were to rejoin their parents abroad as soon as possible.[75] As early as November 1938, the *Scotsman* reported that assurances had been secured that the entry of 200 children on a temporary basis was not 'the thin edge of a wedge to open the door to extra Jewish migrants'.[76]

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[71] Norman Bentwich, *Jewish Youth Comes Home; The Story of the Youth Aliyah, 1933 –1943* (London, 1944).
[72] WHMA/USC/31378. (USC interviewees are first refferred to with their full name, thereafter using only their surname).
[73] *Scotsman*, 6 December 1938.
[74] *Scotsman*, 22 November 1938.
[75] HLSC/MS183/290/F1.
[76] *Scotsman*, 21 November 1938.

The temporary aspect of being a 'trans-migrant' was therefore at the forefront of the Kindertransportees' reception experience. As trans-migrants they were received as temporary visitors and were not expected to remain in Britain for very long. Their further migration was widely viewed as imminent. The *Scotsman* repeatedly reported the 'temporary' basis of their stay and predicted their imminent departure overseas to join their parents.[77] Only gradually does the popular press express a growing awareness of the elongation of the refugees' stay in Britain. In December 1938, the *Scotsman* predicted that at the most 'some may remain in the capital as long as two years', however, most would have migrated by then.[78] The outbreak of war temporarily suspended migration plans, but it did not end the intentions of the scheme to direct the trans-migrants to other countries as soon as possible. Strategies to aid onward migration from Britain remained extremely important.[79] In January 1941, the *Scotsman* reported that the Kindertransportees at Whittingehame continued to be trained for migration to Palestine despite the temporary impossibility of this plan because of the war.[80] Even as late as March 1944, with the close of war in sight, public discussions revolved around the notion that the refugees would be returning to their homelands.[81]

Accordingly, the Kindertransportees were not received as permanent guests or future British citizens. This meant that little attention was paid to forming lasting relationships with a local community. Kindertransportees frequently reflect that the local synagogue, rabbis or members of a Jewish community made no noticeable effort to contact them whilst in Scotland.[82] Reception placements were predominantly arranged as temporary solutions and based on the idea that the Kindertransportees would soon be leaving Britain.[83]

The Kindertransportees' reception was also definitively marked by their official status as immigrants to Britain, regardless of the temporary nature they were

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[77] *Scotsman*, 13 July 1938, 21 November 1938, 23 December 1938, 8 May 1939.
[78] *Scotsman*, 28 December 1938.
[79] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5.
[80] *Scotsman*, 16 January 1941.
[81] *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.
[82] FWPC/Jan, Rachel, Edna.
[83] The short-term approach to care placements and the resulting lack of permanency afforded to the Kindertransportees will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

afforded. The popular press offers an interesting insight into the depth of concern felt in Scotland towards the new migrants and those seeking to gain permits to enter Britain. In January 1938, the *Scotsman* wrote of the need for protection against the potential immigrant 'invasion' of the labour market.[84] In July 1938, Sir Samuel Hoare explained that immigration restrictions needed to remain stringent 'for economic reasons'.[85] These concerns questioned the 'absorptive capacity' of Britain and the subsequent impact this could have on 'existing standards of living and labour, or create unassimilable alien communities'.[86]

Concerns about the damaging immigrant were paramount in the formal negotiations between Anglo-Jewry and the British Government, and these subsequently shaped national strategies for the Kindertransportees' reception in Britain.[87] The Aliens Acts of 1905 and 1919 defined the conditions for their entry to Britain. At the forefront of these terms were concerns about the British economy and the rights of the native labour market against foreign competition. Kushner has also argued that these concerns were widespread and key to the official reception policy for the trans-migrants.[88] In 1939, the British Trade Union Council (TUC) declared their 'fears of unfair alien competition' and sought a new cap on the number of refugees admitted to Britain.[89]

Accordingly, a reception policy would adhere to pre-existing restrictions and prohibitions for immigrants to Britain per se. This dictated the fundamental nature of the Kindertransport, that of being a 'children's' transport'. This would only be open for those undergoing either education or training. It also prohibited minors over the age of 17, who would pose an immediate potential threat to the labour market. The assumption was that they would have left Britain before they reached an employable age. The Kindertransportees were also to be unaccompanied by their parents, who could also challenge British workers' jobs. British citizens and the economic well

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[84] *Scotsman*, 5 January 1938.
[85] *Scotsman*, 6 July 1938.
[86] *Scotsman*, 13 July 1938, 3 December 1938.
[87] See Richard Bolchover, *British Jewry and the Holocaust* (Oxford, 2003); Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*; London, 'British government policy', 26-43.
[88] Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice,* 89.
[89] *Ibid.*

being of the nation took precedence over concerns for refugees from Greater Germany.

These restrictive conditions came to the forefront of the Kindertransportees' reception experience in Scotland. This was especially significant as their stay became elongated and their need to seek employment became inevitable. Britain was only gradually recovering from mass unemployment and a financial downturn during the 1930s.[90] The Kindertransportees were a potential threat to Britain's workforce and the unemployed seeking work. Accordingly, the CC cautioned Jewish migrants not to threaten the labour market or undertake any activity that might remove an opportunity from a British national.[91] Migrants were to be received into a limited pool of working environments, with heavy restrictions on the conditions of work. These opportunities were in industries that lacked a labour force, such as domestic service and agriculture.[92] The CC enforced terms and conditions for the way in which trans-migrants could enter work and how they should behave in this environment.[93] This emphasised their secondary position to any British citizen.[94]

The Kindertransportees' status in Britain, as a restricted migrant labour work force, did not prevent them being received as a surplus of cheap unregulated labour. This proved to be appealing to employers and potential care-givers. Foster carers have been recorded as seeking to exploit the Kindertransportees for cheap labour. Female Kindertransportees were sometimes received into families as domestic help, rather than new members of the family.[95] Rachel recalls that upon arrival at her foster home, 'I then became a maid … a domestic … no more schooling …

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[90] See W.H. Marwick, *Scotland in modern times; An outline of economic and social development since the union of 1707* (London, 1964); A.J.P. Taylor, *English History, 1914-1945* (Oxford, 1965).
[91] HLSC/MS183/289/2/F1.
[92] HLSC/MS183/289/2/F1. Employment report, March 1940; HLSC/MS183/290/F1, Letter from Home Office, 21 June 1943; HLSC/MS183/290/F1, Minutes from Central Council, 1 May 1940.
[93] MS183/132/4; Pamphlet for refugees entitled 'While you are in England'.
[94] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Quarterly Report of Jewish Refugee Committee, January – March 1942; HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Circular No.106 of Central Council, 21 July 1941.
[95] FWPC/Rachel, Edna.

schooling was finished'.[96] Eleora recalls that her first two foster homes in Glasgow were both awful experiences as she was used first as a domestic help and then as a nanny.[97] Kindertransportees could also supplement the family's income if they left school early and found outside employment. Many Kindertransportees were expected to begin full-time employment at 14, the legal school leaving age until 1947. Isabel was educated until 16, when she was expected to go to work.[98] Fry felt that his foster family returned him to Glasgow because he refused to provide them with this extra household income.[99] Farmers would also utilise Kindertransportees as cheap labour hands, especially during harvest times.[100] Kindertransportees who attended both Whittingehame Farm School and Polton House, recall their experiences working on neighbouring farms in East Lothian, Scotland, with little if any financial reward.[101]

Political and economic determining factors for reception procedure and protocol.

Political developments occurred in the structure and workings of the philanthropic network that was to receive the Kindertransportees in Scotland and these changes were important in defining their reception experience. Anglo-Jewry and the British Government had agreed upon particular terms and conditions for the migrants' practical reception in Britain. This stipulated that, in addition to being in transit, they were not to burden the British taxpayer. Accordingly, the CBF and representatives of Anglo-Jewry provided pledges for the trans-migrants' financial needs whilst they remained in Britain.[102] This financial guarantee enabled more trans-migrants to gain entry permits to Britain and group certificates were issued. The Kindertransport scheme was one such group certificate. The minors were each required a £50 guarantee. Almost 10,000 Kindertransportees eventually arrived in Britain.

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[96] FWPC/Rachel.
[97] KA:QU/SUP: 134.
[98] KA:QU/SUP:2160/ I06/08; FWPC/Isabel.
[99] WHMA/USC:31378.
[100] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5, 21 March 1939.
[101] WHMA/USC:36790; FWPC/Elijah.
[102] The Central British Fund was the financial arm of the refugee welfare network.

Subsequently, Anglo-Jewry became the guarantors of a large number of dependent trans-migrants. The trans-migrants were received as the responsibility and burden of Anglo-Jewry.

In response to the heavy burden that the new migrants posed, a nationwide refugee welfare network was established. This was centrally structured around the CC in Bloomsbury House, London. The CC maintained primary control and authority over the migrants welfare in Britain through the guise of various specific sub-departments.[103] The RCM was established to manage the care of child migrants, including Kindertransportees, in Britain. Nonetheless, in order for migrants to be dissemintated beyond the feasible scope of BH in London, responsibility and management was disseminated to regional councils and local committees across Britain.[104] In Scotland, two regional councils were formed, the JCGR in Glasgow and the SNCR in Edinburgh. A further ten locally based committees were established in the regions, including the GRC, the GCAC and the ERC. Pre-existing philanthropy in Scotland was also utilised by the CC for regional care solutions.[105] Despite the egalitarian picture this suggests, in fact the system developed a hierarchical philanthropic structure. This developed an ongoing process that was occuring in Britain, in which philanthropic jurisdiction was shifting from the local and voluntary sector, towards a centralised and more bureaucratic structure. The Kindertransportees' reception was responsive to this new philanthropic system.

The emergence of a philanthropic hierarchy brought with it power struggles and new political negotiations. The Kindertransportees' reception was shaped by these political developments, which had resulted in an atmosphere of ongoing tensions and competing agendas. Cesarani has highlighted the tensions within Jewish philanthropy in England as a result of the rise of a new immigrant class.[106] The rise of a new *Ostjuden* political elite within Jewish philanthropy and representative organisations introduced new Orthodox Jewish orientations and overt

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[103] HLSC/MS183/384/F1.
[104] HLSC/MS183/384/folder 3, Booklet of Central Council, 1939; See appendices 3 and 4.
[105] *Jewish Echo*, 10 February 1939: these included the Senior Women Zionists, Hadassah, and the Garnethill Women's Zionist Society; See appendix 5.
[106] Cesarani, 'The Transformation of Communal Authority in Ango-Jewry, 1914-1940', in Cesarani (ed.), *Modern Anglo-Jewry*, 116.

Zionist agendas.[107] These cut against the preferences of the 'cousinhood', the old Jewish political elite. Most notably, Cesarani points to the coup of the Jewish Board of Deputies by the Zionist lobby. This new faction openly derided the 'cousinhood's' preference for discretion and apologist approaches to politics. This political competition was also locally alive in Scotland. Collins' study of Glasgow has pointed to the important rise in the population size and political significance of the Russian and Polish Jewish communities.[108] In Glasgow, this resulted in the relocation of the leading philanthropic organisations, the GJBG/JRC, from Garnethill to the Gorbals, the domain of new Jewish settlers.

These political movements were challenging the old establishment's monopoly over philanthropic agendas and policies. This meant that policies and agendas for the Kindertransportees' reception often appeared contradictory or in conflict. Arieh Handler worked within the CC and orchestrated the reception of Kindertransportees in Britain. He recalls that there was 'a lot of friction' within the community, which led to clashes over policy and protocol. Rabbi Schonfeld and the Chief Rabbi's Emergency Council (CREC) condemned the RCM for their openly non-denominational policy for receiving Kindertransportees in Britain. Schonfeld felt their pragmatic approach to religious care did not give enough weight to Orthodoxy or Jewish environments.[109] The reception of the Kindertransportees was caught in the middle of this tug of war for control. Schonfeld and the CREC even went as far as 'kidnapping' Kindertransportees from non-denominational care placements by the RCM, in order to relocate them to Orthodox facilities.[110]

There were also ongoing power struggles between different philanthropic organisations incorporated within the CC's umbrella. The concept of the CC was ambitious, because it sought to unify a complex web of fragmented and sporadic, local and regionally based, philanthropic administrative systems from across Britain. Philanthropic organisations in Scotland adhered to an array of different orientations and agendas: refugee, Jewish, Zionist, secular or Christian. This created a chaotic

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[107] *Ibid.* 126.
[108] Collins, *Second City Jewry,* 223.
[109] WL/BL/25; See Chapter Three for a detailed discussion on the religious care of the Kindertransportees.
[110] Turner, ... *And the Policeman smiled,* 253.

and often overlapping welfare network for the Kindertransportees' reception in the region. London states the prolific occurrence of cross-membership and 'co-options' within the CC.[111] The geographic distance of Scotland to the CC in London made the situation more complicated.[112] This meant, as Gottlieb also argues, that regional bodies were active in Scotland, but none enjoyed real authority and no regional centre of control emerged to offer governance to their activities.[113] In this environment, it was difficult for the national system to provide efficient leadership or direction for a reception policy in Scotland.

The superficiality of binding a fragmented philanthropic network and the limitations to the CC's reach into Scotland meant that the Kindertransportees' reception was shaped by power struggles and political clashes. Fundamentally, the CC removed Scotland's philanthropic autonomy and disabled its ability to direct a regional Jewish welfare network for migrants. Scottish schemes for migrants were formulated and approved in London by the CC. Protocol, decision-making and management strategies were made by a small body of London's male Jewish elite.[114] Cesarani refers to this power structure as one of 'oligarchy and plutocracy'.[115] Within the CC's reports, Scotland continued to be recorded as a sub-heading under England and to be treated as a regional rather than a national unit.[116] Decisions and procedures were made in London and relayed to Scotland. This created an official reception policy that was formal, impersonal and English.

The governing monopoly that the CC held over the reception of trans-migrants also meant that state interests were infused into localised Scottish philanthropy. The CC's contract with the British Government for entry certificates and visas meant that particular national agendas based on state interests had to be adhered to by local philanthropists. The existing 'mixed economy of welfare' was moving towards a greater degree of centralised state regulation.[117] As discussed

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[111] London, 'Jewish Refugees', 168.
[112] Black, review of Gottlieb, *Men of Vision*, 1805-1806.
[113] Amy Zahl Gottlieb*, Men of Vision; Anglo-Jewry's Aid to victims of the Nazi Regime 1933-1945* (London, 1998) 131.
[114] Cesarani, *Modern Anglo-Jewry*, 116.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] HLSC/MS183/289/2/F1, Report of JRC, March 1940.
[117] Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier', 185.

previously, centralised state involvement placed the national interest above local concerns for the trans-migrant. It also sought to implement regulated and approved standards of care across Britain. In accordance, national protocols and bureaucratic formalities were filtered down the philanthropic hierarchy of the CC to Scotland for the reception of the Kindertransportees. This meant that the Kindertransportees' reception received an added layer of red tape and official procedure.[118]

The RCM also maintained an autocratic role in determining the reception of the Kindertransportees in Scotland at the expense of local care-givers. This again determined that the official policy for the Kindertransportees' reception in Scotland was more reflective of national agendas and English welfare preferences than Scottish preferences. Abrams's research has highlighted the important distinctions between Scotland's philanthropic heritage and England's preferences.[119] Scotland possessed a unique legacy of short-term boarding-out placements, rural crofting relocations of urban delinquents and small-scale residential care. Scotland was unable to challenge English directives because it did not possess an organisation comparable in size to the CC.[120] The pre-existing Jewish representative bodies of Scotland - Glasgow's Jewish Board of Guardians and the Jewish Representative Council – had also failed to reach spheres of influence comparable to the Board of Deputies in London before the mid-1930s. Subsequently, the Kindertransportees' reception had to respond to English procedures and protocol. It was therefore an official English policy of reception, not a Scottish one.

The RCM's bureaucratic predominance was coupled with a limited level of jurisdiction or information being disseminated to Scottish hosts, which meant that the Kindertransportees in Scotland were received with a lack of knowledge. The Kindertransportees' personal records were kept in Bloomsbury House, except for a period of evacuation when they were relocated to another location in southern England. The CC refused to 'transfer papers of refugees from London to regional committees'.[121] Any specific information had to be requested from London on a

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[118] Shatzkes, *Holocaust and Rescue,* 12.
[119] Abrams, *The Orphan Country,* 39.
[120] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow,* 35.
[121] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Circular No.95 of CC, 10 April 1941.

case-by-case basis. This affected the day-to-day decision-making about the care of the children and important decisions continued to be redirected to London.[122]

The RCM also never afforded Scotland's Kindertransportees a figure *in locos parentis*. In May 1939, a conference was organised in Edinburgh to consider a 'local children's guardian committee', something that had already been established in other cities.[123] This committee was to supervise the Kindertransportees in the locality, 'to try to find guarantee homes … to examine the bona-fides of a family offering to take a child … and to provide whole or in part for the children who came in as "non-guaranteed"'.[124] The committee was formed from 18 societies, with Lord Russell as President and James Watt as Chairman. However, this committee never possessed actual guardianship of the Kindertransportees and, as indicated above, lacked information to do so. Steps to clarify the Kindertransportees' official guardian in Britain were not taken until 1944, before which guardianship had been unofficially assumed by the RCM.[125] However, guardianship of the Kindertransportees in Scotland was never resolved. In 1944, Kindertransportees in England and Wales were legally placed under the sole guardianship of the RCM's Chairman, Lord Gorell.[126] However, in Scotland Gorell was only appointed 'tutor' to the Kindertransportees.[127] The failure to clarify guardianship of Scotland's Kindertransportees meant that their reception was marked by uncertainty about Scotland's responsibility to or liabilities for the individual minor.[128]

Furthermore, the transition to a centralised and nationwide philanthropic welfare system, based in London, actually worsened care standards and financial weaknesses. The CC sought to incorporate pre-existing welfare facilities and philanthropic organisations to create a nationwide blanket of trans-migrant welfare. This would envelope regional infrastructures in order to enlarge reception options for the CC. The result in Scotland was that pre-existing facilities and philanthropic

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[122] FWPC/Levi.
[123] *Scotsman*, 6 May 1939.
[124] *Ibid.*
[125] HLSC/MS183/290/F1, Interview with Mr Herbert Morrison, 6 July.
[126] HLSC/MS183/290/F1, Letter from the Home Office, 21 June 1943.
[127] Bentwich, 72.
[128] HL/SCMS183 /290/F1, Solomon Schonfeld, 'Scriptural points in Mr Cooper's letter' (July 1943).

organisations, mainly in Glasgow and Edinburgh, became overloaded with dependent minors. This weakened an already overstretched and small Jewish welfare system. Alderman has also argued that Jewish welfare facilities in Britain were already limited and weak.[129] He explains that Anglo-Jewry fatally failed to take active measures to enlarge provisions in response to the increased demands from trans-migrants.[130] The added pressure led to the almost total collapse of their financial strength.

The CC's effort to establish a more uniform and equal blanket of welfare financially weakened Scotland's main centres of Jewish philanthropy: Glasgow and Edinburgh. This policy required funds from wealthier areas to support under-funded areas. In order to do this, the CBF, the central financial division for the CC, amalgamated the fundraising efforts of the Jewish communities across Britain into one financial resource. This meant that Scotland's funds, which had previously been channelled directly into local Jewish welfare facilities, were now sent to London before being redistributed across Britain. This created a financial deficit for Scotland.

This was felt to be particularly unfair in Glasgow, where philanthropic fundraising had continued to yield successful revenue. The Glasgow communities were extremely active in fundraising and succeeded in raising a significant amount for the reception of the Kindertransportees. The *Jewish Echo* advertised fundraising ventures, such as 'Glasgow Aid for Whittingehame House'.[131] This appeal brought in £7,000 from the Women's Appeal Committee. The Glasgow community promised 140 covenants and pledged £25,000 for the Kindertransportees.[132] This was a disproportionate amount, which could have provided handsomely for the reception of the Kindertransportees in Glasgow had it not been siphoned off to London.

The deficit in Scotland, after the redistribution of monies, meant that the region received the Kindertransportees with limited resources. Despite Glasgow's appeal channelling £1800 to London, they had received only £737 85s in return by

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[129] Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, 79.
[130] *Ibid.*
[131] *Jewish Echo*, 10 February 1939.
[132] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5, Report of CC , 31 December 1939.

1940.[133] Additional expenses needed to be claimed in writing by the regional committees and organisations directly to London.[134] In November 1942, the schedule of claims for 'Scottish maintenance' was recorded and included claims for projects such as Polton House, amounting to £127 17s, and for organisations such as Scottish Xian, amounting to £107 30s.[135] Because Glasgow received the largest proportion of refugees in Scotland and consequently undertook far more initiatives and incurred greater costs, it in particular developed a deficit. In November 1942, the expenses claimed by Aberdeen amounted to just £9 15s, while Edinburgh claimed £24 13s. In comparison, Glasgow claimed £132 21s.[136]

Subsequently, a tenuous relationship developed between the regional philanthropic organisations and the CC. This was worsened when more Kindertransportees were sent to Scotland. In 1941, the GJRC estimated that an average of £520 per month was required for the maintenance, welfare and administration costs of the refugees.[137] Reports of the CC record that 'towards the end of the last year correspondence took place between the Glasgow Committee and the London office in which the former alleged that under an arrangement made between Sir Maurice Bloch and Mr I.M. Sieff, 50% of the money collected in Glasgow was to be retained by them for the maintenance of local refugees'.[138] Mr Bakstansky and Mr Stephany of the CC questioned the legitimacy of this arrangement and would not authorise it. Subsequently, a shortfall in finances continued for Glasgow, despite their formidable fundraising.

These difficulties meant that it was not in the interest of Scotland to receive more Kindertransportees. The Kindertransportees had to be received in a manner that would keep costs low and the burden of care as manageable as possible. In contrast to Gottlieb's perception that considerations for practical maintenance of refugees came before financial practicalities, it emerges that for the Kindertransportees in Scotland financial considerations and limitations remained

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[133] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5, Minutes of CC, 15 May 1941.
[134] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5, Report CC, 31 December 1939.
[135] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, CC, *The care of German and Austrian Refugees*, November 1942.
[136] *Ibid.*
[137] HL/MS183/384/F1, Report of CC, 1941.
[138] *Ibid.*

core to the character of their reception and care.[139] Decisions were based on an evaluation of cost and financial feasibility. The lack of funds meant that care was based on minimal expense.

A lack of funds meant that foster care continued to be the preferred care solution by both the GJBG/JRC and the JCGR. Philanthropy focused on 'mutual aid' and community 'self-help', whereby the 'private individuals would bear the expense'.[140] The *Scotsman* reported that the trans-migrants were themselves to take responsibility for generating financial 'self help'.[141] Kindertransportees who could not be channelled into self-supporting facilities, such as foster care, were sometimes returned to London. By 28 March 1939, Beatrice Latter of the Glasgow Jewish Council wrote to 'Mrs Rosenfelder' that she was 'sorry to say, that at the moment we have so many applications on our books that it is impossible to take on any more. … As a matter of fact we have found it necessary to return a number to London'.[142]

Subsequently, the manner of the Kindertransportees' reception in Scotland was directed by the financial burden they represented upon the Jewish community. The Kindertransportees were dependent trans-migrants and cost money to accommodate. The financial pressures this invited meant that Kindertransportees often recall feeling that they were only reluctantly accepted, or chastised for adding extra costs when they required relocating. Rachel decided to leave her domestic placement in Edinburgh and arrived uninvited in Glasgow. She consequently experienced a disapproving reception and recalls:

> They were livid with me for arriving in Glasgow and they said you had better go back into domestic work … They were really angry with me. That was the Glasgow Jewish Refugee Committee. I gave them extra work … it cost money for me to be in Glasgow. What business had I to come to Glasgow when I had had a bed to sleep in, in Edinburgh.[143]

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[139] See Gottlieb, *Men of Vision*.
[140] Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier'; HLSC/MS183/53/F2, Minutes, 19 December 1938.
[141] *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.
[142] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/2, Letter from JCGR, 28 March 1939.
[143] FWPC/Rachel.

Scottish societies' reception of the Kindertransportees

In addition to national agendas, political developments and economic limitations, the informal social reception of the Kindertransportees was a very unique part of their arrival experience. The associated labels that the Kindertransportees' Scottish hosts attributed to their status in Scotland shaped this social response. Kindertransportees' testimonies underline the relevance of their foreign origins as migrants, their dependent status as refugees and their co-religionist connection to the Jewish community. These labels were informed by preconceived ideas, prejudices and expectations of the host community. This section is concerned with the informal manner by which the Kindertransportees were received within Scottish society, rather than the official or bureaucratically configured policies of reception as previously discussed.

The reception of the Kindertransportees in the popular imagination initially focused much attention upon the image of the vulnerable child. By the 1930s the concept of the 'child' as distinct from the 'adult' had developed in informal and formal channels of child care.[144] This led to the child being increasingly viewed as innocent and in need of protection.[145] Appeals for public support nurtured this image to best exploit humanitarian sympathies for the innocent child victim. Reports in the popular press, such as the *Scotsman*, stressed that fundraising was for the 'children'.[146] In December 1938, the *Scotsman* reported that 'happy children' arrived in the city of Edinburgh, emphasising the notion that as children they were automatically good, happy and desirably natured.[147] Similarly, in England, Kushner has demonstrated that the media and *Picture Post* presented the Kindertransportees as happy, grateful and 'utterly innocent' vulnerable children.[148]

The Kindertransportees were also received as other peoples' children and potentials for adoption. The popular press and Jewish organisations promoted the

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[144] See James, Jenks and Prout, *Theorizing Childhood*; Henrick, 'Constructions and reconstructions of Britain childhood', 35-59; Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*; Strandell, review, 395-398.
[145] Lassonde, review, 1019; See also Cavert, 'Children in the House'.
[146] *Scotsman*, 26 July 1938.
[147] *Scotsman,* 27 December 1938.
[148] Kushner, *Remembering Refugees,* 152.

image of the vulnerable orphan. In December 1938, the *Scotsman* reported on the young migrants' orphan status.[149] By January, the *Scotsman* had reported that the Government did not allow adoption 'at this stage', suggesting that the door was open for future adoption of foster children.[150] Rabbi Schonfeld, the leading Orthodox Jewish philanthropist for the Kindertransportees, wrote in January 1939 that 'most of our children are partly orphans as their parents are in a living tomb'.[151] The presentation of the Kindertransportees' bleak parental future makes it unsurprising that there were many requests for orphans.[152]

Despite the potential for permanency attributed to the young Kindertransportees' orphan status, the majority, particularly those who were older in age, were not received as Scots or future Scots. Instead, Kindertransportees reflect on the relevance of their associated label as foreigners of alien origin. *The Times* predominantly referred to the Kindertransportees as 'Polish refugees' or 'German refugees', with emphasis on their countries of origin.[153] The Kindertransportees' foreign origins are frequently highlighted in interviews as remaining to be a barrier to their authentic 'Scottishness' in later life. Kindertransportees reiterate the idea of needing to have been 'born and brought up' in Scotland to qualify as a real Scotsman.[154] Kiely, Bechhofer and McCrone refer to this as the concept of 'birth, blood and belonging' to determine the authenticity of a true Scottish identity.[155] The Kindertransportees' sense of being unable to become a genuine Scot is indicative of the way they were socially received by Scottish people. Kindertransportees tend to stress the relevance of their foreign accents in the reception process in Scotland.[156] The endurance of a Germanic accent inhibited a sense of being a proper Scot.

Kindertransportees also point to the strength of Scottish nationalism amongst Scottish Jewry in the manner of their reception as outsiders. This, it has been argued, created a unique tribal identity amongst Scottish Jews. Rachel, who has remained in

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[149] *Scotsman*, 3 December 1938.
[150] *Scotsman,* 3 January 1939.
[151] HLSC/MS183/53/F2, letter from Schonfeld, 9 January 1939.
[152] *Ibid*.
[153] *The Times*, 16 February 1939, 11 January 1939.
[154] McCarthy, 'Scottish National Identities', 201.
[155] Kiely, Bechhofer and McCrone, 'Birth, blood and belonging', 150-171.
[156] FWPC/Rachel, Noah.

Glasgow to the present day, still feels the pressure of exclusivity of the 'Scottish club' and particularly the 'Scottish Jewish club':

> When people ask me what I am I say 'I am British', there is no question about it, but I cannot say that 'I am Scottish', I find that for one reason difficult. I feel secure being British. Scottish have got a … they are really quite clannish. So I don't say I am Scottish … people will say 'well you are not really Scottish are you' … being British you can hide a great deal.[157]

The Kindertransportees were not Scottish-born and did not feel that they were invited to be members of the 'club'.

These clannish tendencies that relegated the Kindertransportees as foreigners and non-Scots also meant that xenophobia is recalled as a defining feature of their reception in Scotland. The Kindertransportees felt that they were first and foremost perceived as foreigners. The minors' foreign origins, rather than Jewish affiliation, defined them as outsiders to the wider community. In contrast to Kushner's perception of the close relationship between being Jewish and experiencing xenophobia, in Scotland the connection between religion and alien status was predominantly directed against members of the Catholic faith.[158] Ugolini has shown that Italian immigrants experienced this double bind in being both foreign nationals and Catholics, leading to xenophobia and prejudice in Scotland.[159] This, Ugolini argues, prevented them from being accepted during the wartime as anything other than the 'enemy 'other''.[160] Abrams's work also draws attention to the focus in Scotland on the disparity between the Scottish Presbyterian community and the 'foreign' Catholic community.[161] Whereas the Protestant and Catholic welfare provisions were separated, Jewish minors tended to be filtered into both welfare systems.

The Kindertransportees were German, Czech, Polish and Austrian and this feature defined who they were in Scotland, namely foreign migrants. Buck stresses

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[157] FWPC/Rachel.
[158] Kushner, 'The impact of British anti-Semitism', 197.
[159] Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy 'OTHER'', 148.
[160] *Ibid.*
[161] Abrams, *The Orphan Country,* 44.

that fear and distrust of foreigners was prevalent across British society.[162] Braber and Ugolini have both argued that there was a prevalence of 'anti-alienism' in Glasgow against all immigrants, most especially towards the Irish and Italians.[163] Ugolini has shown how this culminated in 1940 with 'vicious' anti-Italian riots, enforced relocation of migrants or internment.[164] Ugolini concludes that this situation reminded migrants and second generation community members that as an ethnic minority they still held a vulnerable position in Scottish society and continued to possess an alien status in Scotland.[165] In 1939, Neville Laski of the Board of Deputies of British Jews stated that 'the English are not a people who take easily to foreigners' and this appeared true also for the Scots.[166]

This meant that in the community, as well as within the national bureaucratic framework discussed previously, the children's foreign origins invited suspicion and contempt as enemy aliens. The derogatory perception of the foreigner influenced the manner in which hosts informally received the trans-migrants. Rachel felt that she was placed in domestic service and snubbed by the community because of their xenophobia.[167] Edna believes that she was foremost 'considered as an enemy alien, not so much as a refugee but as a foreigner'.[168]

Kindertransportees have also stressed the relevance of their associated status as dependent refugees in Scotland upon their informal reception experience. This label was felt to carry a heavy load of social stigmas and class-related prejudices. Anglo-Jewry placed extensive care on the selection process for the Kindertransport scheme. This sanctioned only 'desirable' migrants to be included on the transport to Britain.[169] As previously mentioned, this meant that their reception and care was predominantly 'self-regarding' rather than 'other-regarding'.[170] These differentiations meant that the selection process was marked by prejudice against the

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[162] Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army', 323.
[163] Braber *Jews in Glasgow,* 35; Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy 'OTHER'', 137-158.
[164] Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy 'OTHER'', 140.
[165] *Ibid.*
[166] EGPC: newspaper clippings.
[167] FWPC/Rachel.
[168] FWPC/Edna.
[169] Alderman, *Modern British Jewry,* 270, 275; See also Curio, '"Invisible" children', 41-56.
[170] Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier',184.

'undesirable' child.[171] Bentwich argues that 'everything possible' was done to restrict entry to desirable young minors who would suit foster care-givers' wish lists, rather than prioritising the urgency of each child's case.[172]

The reception policy of the Kindertransportees intended to uphold the high standard of migrant procured through the strict entry process. Curio offers an important contribution to the understanding of the RCM's criteria and process of elimination, which included psychological and physical verification.[173] This involved a medical examination, along with an investigation into previous behavioural habits. Bolchover and London underline the prevalence of this system within the wider migrant selection process, which allowed only certain 'types' of Jews to be helped.[174] Rigorous examinations were also used in the organisation of the Basque evacuation to Britain. The 4000 Basque migrant minors underwent a second medical examination on arrival in Southampton and would be designated coloured ribbons according to their condition: 'clean', verminous' or 'infectious'.[175] For Kindertransportees, after the 'undesirable' migrant had been weeded out, reception procedure in Britain intended to prevent any slip amongst Kindertransportees into deviancy or ill health.

The popular press was used to stress the desirable social backgrounds of the children. In December 1938, the *Scotsman* reported of the good appearance and social quality of the Kindertransportees.[176] Kushner has highlighted the tendency within Mass Observation reports to present the Kindertransportees as well-behaved children, settling into their new homes successfully.[177] Despite these efforts, the Kindertransportees were still plagued with the social stigma as refugees. In March 1944, the *Scotsman* entitled a report 'Asylum to Refugees; Scotland's Share and Problems'.[178] This reported that, although the public attitude to refugees was not 'anti-refugee', it remained essential to foster better relations by way of 'mutual and

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[171] *Ibid.*
[172] Bentwich, *They found refuge,* 66.
[173] See Curio, '"Invisible" children'.
[174]Bolchover, *British Jewry,* 49; London, 'Jewish Refugees', 175.
[175] Dorothy Legarreta, *The Guernica Generation: Basque Refugee children of the Spanish civil war* (Nevada, 1984) 108.
[176] *Scotsman*, 3 and 28 December 1938.
[177] Kushner, *Remembering Refugees,* 154.
[178] *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.

reciprocal contacts'. This report is a good indication of the limited level of social engagement by local Scots with their local refugees and the subsequent level of 'otherness' this encouraged. In 1944, Joseph Sachs argued that to counter these social divisions the central goal should be to 'make the refugee cease to be a refugee in the shortest possible time'.[179]

Kindertransportees recall the associated stigma they felt attached to their refugee status as that of being of a poor immigrant class. Max Milner, an adult trans-migrant in Scotland, recalls an incident of being rejected by a member of the local Jewish community because of the derogatory status his landlady afforded him, describing him as a 'penniless Jewish refugee from Germany'.[180] Kindertransportee Edna felt that she was treated unfavourably 'like a refugee'.[181] When introducing Jan to friends, her foster family referred to her as 'our refugee'.[182] Jan interpreted this relationship negatively and felt that the use of the term deemed 'something inferior to the average person'.[183]

The stigma associated with being a refugee was felt by some Kindertransportees to have been interpreted with fear and assumptions about their bad character. Rachel remembers that 'fear of immigrants coming into the community' led to 'quite a lot of anti-refugee feeling … you were warmongers'.[184] As a result, Rachel states that she 'always felt an outsider, I always felt that I had to be very careful and I never felt part of it, I couldn't, I knew I was a refugee and I knew there were limitations to what I could expect and what I could demand'.[185] Nathaniel, who lived in the Garnethill hostel, also explains that the issue of being a refugee greatly affected his relationship with the Glasgow Jewish community:

> The people that we got to know … they called us refugees and they looked at us as refugees, whether we were Jewish refugees was something else … they didn't necessarily ascribe the Jewish aspect to us, but we were

[179] *Ibid.*
[180] WL/BL/3.
[181] FWPC/Edna.
[182] FWPC/Jan.
[183] *Ibid.*
[184] FWPC/Rachel.
[185] FWPC/Rachel.

> refugees and no matter what we did, whatever employment we were seeking that was the tag that was attached to us.[186]

The Kindertransportees' foreign origins and refugee status was stressed in their introduction to the local communities and this meant that they were received as co-religionists by Scotland's Jewry and not as Jewish brethren. The Kindertransportees possessed different cultural, social, economic and religious orientations to Scotland's Jewish communities. Emil Fackenheim was an independent German Jewish refugee in Scotland. Fackenheim has written about the enormity of tackling the sense of alienation towards Jewish hosts and the significance of local prejudices held against refugees by these Jews in Scotland.[187]

This meant that their reception experience was entangled with prejudices held by the Jewish communities. Fundamentally, these remained rooted in the perceived distinction between the *Ostjuden* and the *Westjuden* Jewish communities.[188] Simplistically, the former was based on one's connection to an Eastern European Jewish heritage and one's affinity with *shtel* culture and strict Orthodoxy. *Westjuden* tended to define a secular non-pious Jew. Collins' research has argued that there existed in Glasgow an ongoing level of tension between the *Ostjuden* and *Westjuden* communities. [189] The former, for example, believed that the *Westjuden* had taken too many steps away from Orthodoxy and lost their Jewishness. Collins also describes this social conflict as one of 'mutual contempt', whereby each felt superior to the other.[190] Karl Aron and Kölmel have both argued that this was intensified with the arrival of German Jews who possessed a very distinct Jewish culture to Anglo-Jewry.[191] As German Jews, the Kindertransportees often felt snubbed by Anglo-Jewry and victims of a legacy of disdain within the Jewish community.

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[186] FWPC/Nathaniel; WHMMA/USC, 02/12/96.
[187] Emil Fackenheim, *Epitaph for German Judaism; From Halle to Jerusalem* (Wisconsin, 2007) 97.
[188] David Brenner, 'Promoting East European Jewry: "Ost und West", Ethnic Identity and the German Jewish Audience', *Prooftexts*, 15:1 (January, 1995) 63.
[189] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 74.
[190] *Ibid*., 75.
[191] Rainer Kömel, 'German-Jewish Refugees in Scotland', in Collins (ed.) *Aspects of Scottish Jewry ,* 74.

Subsequently, the Kindertransportees' reception was marked by a sense of otherness and prejudice by their host Jewish community. The Kindertransportees were predominantly *Westjuden,* yet a significant number did come from an *Ostjuden* background. Both types of associated Jewish communities received the Kindertransportees in Scotland. A number of more secular, or *Westjuden*, Kindertransportees were fostered within the *Ostjuden* Glasgow communities in the Gorbals or Pollokshields. These Kindertransportees recall being received with suspicion. The children were in some cases suspected or accused of not being Jewish because of their liberal religious preferences or secular physical appearance.[192] Gertrude Goldberg recalled the impact of her 'continental clothes' in defining her alien non-Jewish background.[193] By contrast, Elijah, who grew up in a rural village in Poland, believes he was ostracised and experienced prejudice towards him because of his *Ostjuden* characteristics.[194]

The reception of the Kindertransportees by Anglo-Jewry was also marked by preconceptions concerning their German Jewish origins and social or economic backgrounds. Anglo-Jewry was predominantly of *Ashkenazi* or *Ostjuden* origin. John Grenville has argued that the Anglo-*Ashkenazi* community was acutely aware of the *Sephardi* legacy of the German Jewish elite and a legacy of prejudiced behaviour to their native *Ostjuden.* This, Grenville clarifies, was expressed in resentment towards the new arrivals as 'stuck up German Jews' from middle-class families. The Kindertransportees had gained their place on the Kindertransport because they had been vetted as desirable migrants. In many cases, this was based on their privileged social or economic status in Greater Germany. Rachel was first fostered by an *Ostjuden* family and believes her reception was coloured by these class prejudices.

> I think the problem was these people originally came from Poland … they always felt that the German Jews did not treat them well and that came across. There was no

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[192] Chaim Bermant, 'Memoir of an E-European immigrant to Glasgow,' *Tenth Anniversary Magazine; Patterns and Images of Jewish immigration in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1997).
[193] WL/BL/51.
[194] FWPC/Elijah.

> feeling towards me. It was resentment more than anything else … they made us feel very inferior … I felt hurt within myself because I was considered not worthwhile … it doesn't leave you ever.[195]

It is important to note that the reception of the trans-migrants by Scottish society was not uniform or consistent. Public attitude changed towards the trans-migrants between 1938 and 1945. Their reception was at times marked by overt expressions of humanitarian concern and sympathy for the problems afflicting Jews in Greater Germany, while at other times it reflected a greater degree of indifference, intolerance, or even hostility. These shifts were not linear and progressive, but fluctuated in both directions during the period.

Archives of various journals, such as *The Times* and the *Scotsman,* reflect a lull in general enthusiasm and attention from the British population towards the new arrivals following the outbreak of war. For the most part, between November 1938 and September 1939, the popular press avidly followed the story of the Kindertransportees' arrival in Britain. The frequency of reports suggests an initial high level of interest from the general public, while the tone is indicative of a significant level of philanthropic ambition for the trans-migrant children's cause. In July 1938, a group of Scottish citizens wrote to the *Scotsman* to express their sense of, what Kushner as referred to as, Christian 'philo-Semitism'.[196] They wrote that they felt 'morally responsible for the sufferings of our fellow-men' and that 'Christianity and democracy dare not let slide this chance of acting together for the good of all mankind'.[197] Following the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939, there is a notable absence of attention or interest in the migrants. At this point, ambivalence appears to become the most suitable adjective to describe public opinion towards the trans-migrants.[198] Reports become preoccupied with matters of the war effort and British citizens' daily lives. This temporarily changes in May 1940, when agitation about aliens in Britain dominates headlines, with scaremongering stories and subsequent responses.

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[195] FWPC/Rachel.
[196] *Scotsman,* 12 July 1938, letter from H.W. Austin, Phyllis Bottome, Arnold Lunn and Geraldine Drummond; Kushner, *Persistance of Prejudice*, 70.
[197] *Scotsman*, 12 July 1938.
[198] *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.

This pattern was also partnered by shifts in the level of opposition towards the trans-migrants. It is important to note that as support fluctuated so too did opposition to the trans-migrant cause. Archives of leading journals reflect ongoing conversations and debates between members of the community. A significant number of scare stories emerge in the popular press that report undesirable behaviour of trans-migrants. *The Times* frequently reports on various examples of criminal activity by 'refugees'.[199] Alternatively, reports emerge that stress the positive contribution being made by refugees to the war effort. In April 1944, the *Scotsman* reported of the successful integration into the war effort and loyalty to Britain of the trans-migrants. At the same time, Kindertransportees' testimonies also express the growing anxiety by hosts due to their charges' extended stay and the reluctance of hosts to receive Kindertransportees.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to show that Scottish philanthropy was neither altruistic nor uncharitable in the reception of the Kindertransportees. Their reception was shaped in positive and negative ways by the broader picture. This was not characterised by a kindred spirit and humanitarian crusade for refugees. It was also not driven purely by uncharitable gestures or uncompromising policies. It is unhelpful to reduce these evaluations into two opposing camps that advocate either British altruism or Kindertransportee victim-hood.

The Kindertransport episode was not a detached event, but was influenced and connected to wider issues in Britain and the circumstance of the Scottish people. This chapter has presented a number of important features, drawn from national, political, economic and social issues, which characterised the Kindertransportees' reception in Scotland. These were responsive to the specific charter of the Kindertransport scheme and the associated official and unofficial labels afforded to the Kindertransportees: children, alien immigrants, temporary trans-migrants, foreign co-religionists and dependent refugees. These shaped the reception of the

[199] *The Times*, 5, 16, 20 January, 20 February, 11 April, 13 June 1939.

Kindertransportees in Scotland through official bureaucratic protocol and informal social interpretation.

The reception of the Kindertransportees in Scotland was dictated by a national contract. Anglo-Jewry and the British Government agreed this contract, which stipulated terms and conditions for the trans-migrants' entry to Britain and reception into its society. At the heart of the subsequent policy of reception was a fear of anti-Semitism. Anglo-Jewry negotiated conditions that would enable them to safeguard their status quo in Britain. This would adhere to a damage control strategy, which would maximise their ability to manage and control the influx of the Jewish migrants in Britain. At the forefront of this approach was the strategy of minimising the new arrivals' Jewish appearance, encouraging invisibility and discretion. This meant that the Kindertransportees were to be received in Scotland as vulnerable child refugees from enemy territory. However, this strategy did not protect the Kindertransportees' reception from being tainted by fears about enemy aliens in Britain.

Anglo-Jewry's contract with the British Government also exploited a loophole in immigration policy and this subsequently classified the Kindertransportees as trans-migrants. This dictated that the Kindertransportees were to be received as migrants in transit and temporary visitors in Scotland. As trans-migrants, the Kindertransportees were nevertheless received as immigrants to Britain and given associated restrictions to their activities. These restrictions sought to minimise their potential for being received in Britain as a surplus of cheap immigrants, which could damage the British labour market. Despite these efforts, the Kindertransportees were frequently received into Scotland as a financial tool, either for cheap labour or household revenue.

The Kindertransport charter also stipulated that the Kindertransportees were dependent migrants and must not become a burden on the general British society. This meant that representatives of Anglo-Jewry had to pledge full responsibility for their welfare and financial support. As a result, the Kindertransportees were received as a burden upon the Anglo-Jewish and Scottish Jewish communities. In order to support such a large number of dependents, Anglo-Jewry created a nationwide welfare network. This developed an umbrella philanthropic organisation in London,

which very quickly moved the frontier of philanthropy from localised voluntary organisations in Scotland to a centralised bureaucratic power hierarchy in London. This artificially amalgamated many different disjointed and fragmented Jewish welfare networks into one system.

These political developments in British philanthropy for migrants meant that the Kindertransportees' reception in Scotland was characterised by national tensions, conflicting agendas and power struggles. These frictions included the inter-Jewish community divisions between the old establishment and a new *Ostjuden* immigrant class. The latter advocated greater Orthodoxy and Zionism, while the former preferred discretion about Jewish connections or ambitions in Palestine. Policies and protocols subsequently lacked uniformity or clarity and were often in contradiction. They were also wrapped in officialdom and bureaucracy, yet provided limited information or autonomy to regional committees. In Scotland, this was particularly influenced by contentions over English governance. The monopoly that the RCM maintained over decision-making was at the expense of a figure *in locos parentis*. This structure also infused state interests into Scottish philanthropy. This led to a reception policy derived from English philanthropic preferences, rather than a specifically Scottish one.

The political developments in Scottish philanthropy impacted on the economic viability of receiving the Kindertransportees. The centralised welfare network exploited Scottish facilities and resources. This made them overstretched and of a poor quality. The creation of a nationalised financial infrastructure to balance resources across the country also created economic difficulties for the Kindertransportees' reception in Scotland. This meant that the dependent trans-migrants were received reluctantly and sparingly.

The reception experience of the Kindertransportees in Scotland was also shaped by the Scottish society that received them. This was influenced by the preconceptions and prejudices they held and the labels they attached to the Kindertransportees' status in Scotland. At the forefront of these social preconceptions were the foreign origins of the trans-migrants. This immediately classified the Kindertransportees as non-Scots and outsiders. This was sometimes expressed in the form of xenophobia. Additional social stigmas also marked the

reception experience. These included class prejudices about the Kindertransportees' status as refugees. These were felt by Kindertransportees to demote them to an inferior social rank and this defined their lives in Scotland for many years.

Prejudices of specifically the Jewish communities in Scotland were also an important feature of their reception experience. These were most notably concerning other Jewish people. This designated the Kindertransportees as co-religionists, rather than religious brethren and members of one Jewish community. This distinction was frequently based upon pre-existing antagonisms between the *Ostjuden* and *Westjuden* communities and the mutual contempt they afforded one another. The Germanic or *Sephardi* background of many Kindertransportees also ostracised them from their hosts and soured the reception experience.

The reception of the Kindertransportees in Scotland was based on an acceptance criteria for migrants shaped by 'self-serving motives of countries' and their citizens.[200] This does not mean that Britain's policy towards the Kindertransportees was ungenerous or lacking in moral attributes. Rather, this chapter has sought to show that these terms have limited relevance in this discussion. The practical process of receiving the trans-migrants could be driven by sympathies and humanitarian goals, but at the root were greater humanitarian concerns for British citizens, especially during a time of war.

[200] Deborah Dwork and Jan Van Pelt, *Flight from the Reich: Refugee Jews, 1933-1946* (New York, 2009).

Chapter Two

Growing up in Scotland: The care and nurture of Kindertransportees within a Scottish framework

> Scottish people are not very fond of children; they are very fond of animals. They're crazy about their animals; children they send to the boarding school when they can afford it. If they cannot afford it they put a latchkey around their neck and let some roam the street. They do not on the whole look terribly well after their children. If they have a dog and anything happens they go absolutely hysterical.[1]

Gertrude Black, a refugee to Edinburgh from Greater Germany, gives a frank and largely derogatory statement about her impression of Scotland's approach to childcare and welfare during the Second World War. This chapter intends to develop and challenge this discussion by outlining key characteristics of Scotland's welfare provisions for the Kindertransportees during the period 1939-1945 and reflect upon how these informed particular care experiences in Scotland for the child-in-care. This chapter will address the secular nurturing experience of the Kindertransportees, exclusive of the religious or Jewish dimensions to their care.

The Kindertransportees were accommodated within many different types of welfare services and facilities: foster homes, evacuation centres, trans-migrant hostels, agricultural training centres, orphanages, approved schools, boarding schools and convents. These facilities were not part of a national grid of state-sponsored care, but tended to be sporadic philanthropic schemes adherent to an overlapping collage of welfare networks. These intended to aid vulnerable and needy children in Britain based on an array of welfare agendas. The Jewish community of Scotland possessed a collection of welfare services for Jewish children and the Kindertransportees were incorporated into these schemes.[2] Other denominations' pre-existing facilities also absorbed Kindertransportees, including the Convent of the

[1] WL/AG/76.
[2] SJA: Jack Cowen, recollections of the Gertrude Jacobson Orphanage, 24 September 1995; Collins, *Be Well!,* 68.

Sacred Heart, Aberdeenshire. Kindertransportees were also integrated into secular philanthropic facilities for poor working-class children: The Priory (Selkirk's Children's Home) and remand homes, such as St Vincent Street's Home, Edinburgh.[3] Residential facilities were predominantly centres of care designed for Scotland's poor or delinquent children. However a number of Kindertransportees did live within accommodation designed to school Scotland's fee-paying and financially privileged youth: St Trinnean's School (evacuated from Edinburgh to Galashiels), St Columbia's College (St Bushey's) and St Hilary's (Edinburgh).[4]

The care solutions for Kindertransportees were not all pre-existing. Some were newly formed welfare solutions during the period in response to the experiences and demands of war. These included the evacuation hostels, such as Birkenward hostel in Skelmorlie, Ayrshire, Ernespie House and Castle Douglas hostel in Dumfriesshire.[5] Kindertransportees were also cared for within schemes created specifically to cater for the dependent trans-migrant minor after 1938. These included Garnethill hostel, Salisbury Road hostel, Whittingehame Farm School and Polton House.[6] All these welfare services were geographically stretched across Scotland: Glasgow, Clydebank, Edinburgh, Aberdeenshire, Ayrshire, Dunfermline and elsewhere.[7]

This chapter does not intend to assess the success or failure of the care programmes for the Kindertransportees in these Scottish facilities; instead, it hopes to offer an insight into the varied manner in which the Kindertransportees were cared for and the influences behind these experiences. It will show that the nature of their care in Scotland was the result of three main features: firstly, a carefully contrived plan for the hosting of trans-migrant minors; secondly, middle-class values that informed agendas for tackling the working-classes' social ills; and finally British philanthropy's preferred approach to childcare in Scotland during this period. Evaluation of the first feature will argue that care was intended to appease specific issues attached to the trans-migrant minor. These unique care strategies sought to

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[3] KA:QU/SUP.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.;* SJA: Memoirs, letters from evacuated Kindertransportees, photographs and reunion documents of evacuation centres in Scotland.
[6] KA:QU/SUP.
[7] *Ibid.*

enable migrant discretion during integration, maintain popular support for their presence in Scotland, aid their further migration, establish cohesive control of a surplus of unaccompanied minors and reduce costs.

Pervading middle-class values were of central importance to the tone and character of care initiatives for Kindertransportees in Scotland. In 1942, William Beveridge published a report that stressed the need to tackle the five 'Giant Evils' afflicting the working classes in Britain: want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness.[8] The care of the Kindertransportees was informed by these prevailing concerns. A desire to prevent idleness placed emphasis on short-term placements and independence from dependence on welfare at a young age. Education and training were central to these designs and would also prevent ignorance or want. Care also intended to prevent squalor or pauperism. Notions of environmentalism prioritised rural placements and respectable working-class standards of living. The desire to ensure a respectable class of workers meant that Kindertransportees were directed towards skilled manual or trade work and female morality preoccupied approaches to care for the girls.

Popular agendas in British philanthropy for the care of children in welfare also shaped the Kindertransportees' care.[9] There was a deep social concern about the juvenile and unattached youth, which directed certain initiatives in the Kindertransportees' care. To minimise the dangers posed by juveniles, collective management strategies were used to control the Kindertransportees. This infused a high level of regimentation, routine and discipline in the Kindertransportees' daily lives. It also led to the promotion of youth groups and social clubs for the unattached youth. Pro-natalists were also linked to this movement. In order to prevent the creation of a new generation of juveniles, they encouraged the promotion of good mothering and traditional gender roles. Alternatively, younger Kindertransportees were also recipients of initiatives based on concerns about the vulnerable child. These included national schemes for the evacuation and protection of minors from

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[8] NA/PREM/4/89/2, William Beveridge, 'Social Insurance and Allied Services', Report, 1 December 1942.

[9] See Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army'; Richard Titmuss, *History of the Second World War: Problems of Social Policy* (London, 1976); John Welshman, 'Evacuation and Social Policy During the Second World War: Myth and Reality', *Twentieth Century British History,* vol.9, 1 (1998) 28-53.

the war on the home front. The realities of war did, however, lead to a particular level of care and wartime upbringing in Britain. This was largely characterised by limitations.

Care schemes for the trans-migrant minor

The care of the Kindertransportees was shaped by their status in Britain as unaccompanied trans-migrant minors under the auspices of the CC. Chapter One has illustrated the nature of the aims and intentions of the CC in the reception of the Kindertransportees. These were also relevant for the manner in which the Kindertransportees were to be cared for whilst in Britain. Alderman's research has pointed to the centrality of 'the defence of an image' to all care initiatives for the new 'trans-migrants'.[10] The CC desired not to provoke hostility or anti-Semitism from the non-Jewish community.[11] Accordingly, the CC sought to foster and maintain a good opinion of the temporary migrants in Britain. This ensured that the public image of the Kindertransportees remained of paramount importance in care strategies. The CC tailored care schemes so that they would best create useful and, subsequently, desirable 'good' migrants.[12]

Aiding the British war effort was perceived as the most valuable role that the Kindertransportees could play during this period. The CC promoted the utilisation by the Government of the valuable surplus of trans-migrants in Britain, in order to bolster Britain's strength on the home front.[13] Agriculture was initially one of only a few avenues open to trans-migrants in aiding the war effort. This opportunity was not missed by the CC and conversations followed between the Government and the Central Agricultural Committee, a subdivision of the CC. These discussions sought to assist 'refugee men and women to secure agricultural training or employment'.[14] Handler recorded that Bachad intended to direct its charges towards helping the war

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[10] Geoffrey Alderman, 'The defence of an image', in Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*.
[11] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5; HLSC/MS183/384/F1.
[12] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Circular No100 of CC, 6 June 1941; *Ibid*. Quarterly report of JRC, January – March 1942.
[13] HLSC/MS183/289/2/F1, Minutes of CC, 11 April 1940, 5.
[14] *Ibid.* List of forms of employment, 15,16.

effort through agriculture.[15] Handler estimated that about 3,000 youth (boys and girls) aided British harvests and agricultural requirements of war.[16]

As the war continued, the Kindertransportees were gradually afforded a wider scope of war-work opportunities. Government training centres, which intended to ameliorate skills' shortages, were opened to refugees in early 1941 and this broadened Kindertransportees' opportunities.[17] Jayson recalls that he was encouraged to pursue useful training to help the war effort, which led him into the airforce at 15 years of age.[18] In 1944, John Presland noted that an estimated 800 Kindertransportees were now within HM Armed Forces.[19] Kindertransportees were also encouraged to participate in defence–of-the-realm options in Scotland. Ruff recalls that he became an active member of the Officer Training Corps whilst at university in Scotland.[20] The ARP (British Air Raid Wardens) was another popular choice amongst Kindertransportees. Abaigael recalls late night ARP patrols at Whittingehame under the supervision of their teacher Drew.[21] Drew took photographs of his training sessions with Kindertransportees at Whittingehame. Figure 2.1. captures a Kindertransportee undertaking practical training for the protection of Britain on the home front.

Figure 2.1. ARP training

Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs

[15] WL/BL/25.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army', 336.
[18] WL/BL/26.
[19] Presland, *A Great Adventure*, 21.
[20] WL/BL/50.
[21] FWPC/Abaigael.

The CC promoted the useful roles and occupations for the British war effort undertaken by the trans-migrants. In 1944, the *Scotsman* reported that 'most of the boys [from Polton House] joined the forces at calling up age or before'.[22] In March 1944, the *Scotsman* reported Sir Cecil Weir's statement:

> The majority of refugees in this country with whom the Scottish National Council was concerned had been here since before the war and a very large number had been absorbed in British Industry … a very useful and profitable experience with the refugees … they were now doing work of importance in the national effort.[23]

Despite the desire to promote the Kindertransportees as useful migrants, the directives were cautiously formulated and burdened with heavy restrictions based on the Kindertransportees' status in Britain as trans-migrants. No education, training or employment advantage was to be given to migrant children over a British national.[24] The Kindertransportees' care emphasised their secondary position to British citizens. The best of everything must be kept for British nationals. Policy makers responded to pressure to appease the '*Daily Mail* syndrome', whereby British citizens feared that refugees were being given all the advantages.[25] A Kindertransportee recalls being asked at Dovercourt camp what they wanted to be and the great displeasure of the administrator when they said they wished to be a doctor:

> The woman who was filling the form in said: 'I can't put that down – you must remember that you are a refugee.'[26]

The trans-migrant status of Kindertransportees in Britain did, however, provide them with an abundance of opportunities devised to promote further

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[22] *Scotsman*, 26 July 1944.
[23] *Scotsman,* 21 March 1944.
[24] Curio, 'Invisible children', 54; See also Kushner and Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide,* 126-216.
[25] See also Kushner, 'The Kinder: A Case of Selective Memory?', in Kushner, *Remembering Refugees,* 141-80.
[26] Karen Gershon, *We came as children: A collective autobiography of refugees* (London, 1966) 40.

migration.[27] The Kindertransportees were expected to be undertaking imminent migration from Britain and were encouraged to pursue life choices that would enhance this possibility.[28] Grenville, Kushner and London have all underlined the reluctance of the Government to enable refugees to feel like permanent citizens in Britain during the war years.[29] Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, remained stalwart in his stance that migrants from Greater Germany were not expected to remain in Britain.[30] In 1944, Presland stated that the intention of the CC was **'**to maintain, educate, train and re-emigrate the 9,341 children under its care'.[31] Subsequently, the CC's care initiatives often focused on education and training that would provide the Kindertransportees with an advantageous position for migration. Training intended to equip them with a life skill that would be in demand in an overseas destination.[32] As a result, as Curio underlines, academic ambitions were not given priority.[33] Instead, agricultural training became a focal point for the Kindertransportees. Agricultural and manual labouring skills were considered a key asset for migrants. These skills were in demand by a large number of potential target countries for migration, including Palestine, Australia, Canada, South Africa and the United States (see Chapter Four for a detailed examination of the agricultural training facilities in Scotland).[34]

Despite these intentions, the majority of the Kindertransportees were unable to undertake further migration from Britain before 1945. This meant that for the duration of their elongated stay in Britain their care intended to aid invisibility and discretion in their integration into local communities. Grenville has argued that the

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[27] Jill Rutter, *Refugee Children in the UK* (New York, 1999) 57; See also Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, Cristina Szanton Blanc, 'Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorising Transnational Migration', *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 68, 1 (January, 1995) 48-63; Curio, 'Invisible children'; Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*.

[28] Anthony Grenville, *Jewish Refugees from Germany and Austria in Britain, 1933-1970: Their Image in AJR Information* (London, 2010) 67.

[29] *Ibid*. 74; London, *Whitehall and the Jews,* 261; London, 'Jewish Refugees', in Cesarani (ed.) *The Making of Anglo-Jewry,* (Oxford, 1990) 164; Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice,* 11.

[30] Grenville, *Jewish Refugees,* 52.

[31] Presland, *A Great Adventure*, 26.

[32] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Quarterly Report of JRC, January – March 1942.

[33] Curio, 'Invisible children', 54.

[34] HLSC/MS183/289/2/F1, Minutes of CC, 25 April 1940.

refugee organisations' primary agenda was 'integrationist'.[35] Kushner, Knox and Curio all stress the isolation, invisibility and extensive distribution of Kindertransportees across Britain to avoid ghettos of Jewish migrants.[36] Unlike the care of the Basque refugee minors from Spain in the early 1930s, the CC sought to prevent colonies of migrants or enclaves that could draw attention to their presence.[37] Jill Rutter has highlighted the contrasting experience of the Kindertransportees with the smaller number of Basque child trans-migrants a decade before them.[38] The crux to this distinction was the Kindertransportees' integration into British welfare services, rather than the emphasis on 'colonies' and separate services. Karen Gershon's collection of testimonies refers to the CC's aversion to the urban hostels or residential care facilities in close proximity to British communities because they resembled 'foreign colonies'.[39]

The desire for discretion meant that care initiatives sought to speed up the processes by which Kindertransportees acclimatized and Anglicised themselves in their new environments. This was in stark contrast to care initiatives for the 4,000 Basque children, which sought to avoid Anglicisation in order to protect and maintain their separate Spanish and Basque identity.[40] For Kindertransportees, as Kushner has argued, there existed a desire to push the 'immigrant masses' to Anglicise as soon as possible and that this remained of paramount importance to Anglo-Jewry's elite community.[41] Black has called this care policy 'the pressure-cooker' for Anglicisation.[42] This immediately required an introduction to the British 'way-of-life' and language. Kindertransportees' testimonies have pointed to the pressure they felt to adopt the English language and drop their Germanic

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[35] Grenville, *Jewish Refugees,* 60.
[36] Kushner and Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide,* 126-216; See also Curio, 'Invisible children'.
[37] Adrian Bell, *Only for 3 months; The Basque Children in Exile* (Norwich, 1996) 143; Natalia Benjamin (ed.), *Recuerdos: Basque children refugees in Great Britain* (Oxford, 2007) 45.
[38] Rutter, *Refugee Children*, 59.
[39] Gershon, *We Came as Children*, 42.
[40] Bell, *Only for 3 months*, 143.
[41] Kushner, *The Jewish Heritage in British History: Englishness and Jewishness* (London, 1992) 14.
[42] Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry,* 390.

characteristics.[43] The Kindertransportees were directed not to use their original Germanic language publicly.[44] They were also to be discreet about their national origins, religious affiliations and migrant circumstances. During the war years, some also chose to exchange their Germanic names for British ones.[45]

Schools provided an immediate means to instill these British values, which would make good citizens.[46] Smith terms this process as one in which schools would 'husband them [youth] as a national asset'.[47] This practice continued into the late 1950s as the Scottish Education Department (SED) advocated the role of schools in the training for citizenship.[48] Primary schooling was to teach 'personal hygiene, clear speech, road safety, good manners and conduct', while secondary schooling introduced minors to a successful way of life in the outside world.[49] London calls this the 'Anglo-Saxon imperial' project, whereby pupils would be Anglicised at school and given the knowledge and life skills deemed necessary for their role in society.[50] This approach to education would not have been unfamiliar to Kindertransportees, especially for 16% who attended a Gymnasium in Germany, which was prone to advocating German imperialism.[51] All the Kindertransportees under 14 were supposed to attend school in Britain and became subject to national propaganda and efforts to instill 'good citizenship'.

To speed up integration, outside of their daily schooling, Kindertransportees were encouraged to adhere to a secular lifestyle and maintain daily interaction with a local community. Participation with local community centres and youth groups were encouraged by the CC. They provided a controlled environment for gradual integration of trans-migrants into the local community. In Glasgow, Kindertransportees joined the local youth refugee club, referred to as 'the House on

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[43] WHMA/USC:36790.
[44] HLSC/MS183/132/4, Pamphlet for refugees entitled 'While you are in England'.
[45] KA:QU/SUP.
[46] Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood (*London, 2006) 179.
[47] Smith, 'Official Responses to Juvenile Delinquency in Scotland', 100.
[48] Scottish Education Department; Public Education in Scotland (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1958).
[49] *Ibid.* 34.
[50] London, 'British government policy and Jewish refugees', 40.
[51] KA:QU/SUP; See also Stachura, *The German Youth Movement.*

the Hill', on 358 Sauchiehall Street.[52] The club aided their successful integration into the local Scottish community.[53] On 23 August 1941, the club's Kindertransportees participated in a local celebration of the unified British effort against Hitler.[54] The 'Festival of Nations' day enabled the Kindertransportees to ingratiate themselves with the local community. Wuga recalls that Kindertransportees would participate in 1 May marches alongside Scots and that they would tour Scotland in order to raise money for Clementine Churchill's national fund.[55] He also remembers the dominant role of the Scottish Trades Union movement in Glasgow for connecting Kindertransportees to local Scottish people.[56] Rachel has expressed the important role these clubs played in connecting their members to local political movements and events.[57] In doing so, they were able to meet native Scots and integrate more successfully into Scottish society. Both Wuga and Rachel chose to remain in Scotland after the war.

Figure 2.2. Football matches at Whittingehame

Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs

Kindertransportees in residential facilities outside of the city centres were also encouraged to participate in local leisure pursuits. This was because, as

[52] SJA:Unknown Newspaper clipping, 25 February - 3 March 1989; See also Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 77-78.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] WL/BL/74.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] FWPC/Rachel.

Rosalyn Livshin argues, the 'Anglicising influences from many directions' were perceived as including playing with other children, reading, watching films at the cinema, attending social functions, such as dances, and participating in sports or clubs.[58] Figure 2.2. shows a football match at Whittingehame. Similar matches were organised with the local community.

Despite these anglicising influences, residential facilities could inhibit Kindertransportees from naturally immersing themselves into the social networks in their local communities. The CC was concerned that this could weaken their speedy integration process. Handler has recalled his concern that Kindertransportees in residential facilities would struggle to become good citizens in Britain because they lacked a normal socialising process.[59] As a result, for Kindertransportees isolated in rural residential facilities, a curriculum would also be used to substitute artificially the 'normal' socialising process. This would establish a new normative frame of reference with a theology that was felt to be compatible with life in Britain and that would make good British citizens.[60] These strategies sought to re-educate residents based on a preferred model. In Whittingehame, Kindertransportees recall their headmaster Charles Maxwell seeking to transform residents into 'English gentlemen' with attributes he associated with Eton College's aristocratic pupils.[61]

An important aspect of good citizenship was the adoption of British imperial and patriotic values. This was especially important during the war, when a fear of the enemy alien in Britain's midst encouraged the CC to promote the refugees' loyalty to Britain. The desire to present the trans-migrants as loyal citizens was reignited in 1944 with the close of war in sight. At this point in time, the British Government had still not confirmed the future status of refugees in Britain and discussions about repatriation provoked fear and loathing amongst refugee organisations.[62] In 1944, a report in the *Scotsman* recorded a meeting with the

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[58] Rosalyn Livshin, 'The Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930', in Cesarani (ed.) *The making of Anglo-Jewry*, 79.
[59] WL/BL/25.
[60] Scottish Education Department, *Public Education in Scotland*, 34; See also London, 'Jewish Refugees', 115-137; Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (London, 1998).
[61] FWPC/Levi, Abaigael.
[62] Grenville, *Jewish Refugees,* 52.

Association of Jewish Refugees (AJR) and their member Dr Adler-Rudel, who was seeking British citizenship.[63] This report is indicative of the representative organisations' desire to emphasise the trans-migrants' complete and successful integration into Britain, along with their total loyalty to Britain.

Figure 2.3. Scout clubhouse
Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs

Welfare initiatives concern to install good citizenship, as Smith has argued, also included a preoccupation with eliminating 'hedonistic girls and non-heroic boys'.[64] Boys were to express an affinity to the 'ideals of manly heroism and physical vigour'.[65] These qualities would be in tune with the war effort. Youth movements were an important resource to instill these nationalistic values into the Kindertransportees. The Scout movement was especially infused with jingoism and encouraged members to embrace an enthusiasm for the British Empire. Between 1941 and 1944, membership of the Boy Scouts in Scotland rose by 25%.[66] This remained a popular choice amongst Kindertransportees. Whittingehame possessed an active Scout group, led by Drew. This group built their own clubhouse on the grounds, organised outdoor pursuits and sought to emulate the aspirations of Robert Baden-Powell for British youth living the British 'way-of-life'. Figure 2.3. shows the semi-constructed Scout clubhouse at Whittingehame. Proctor and Mahood have

[63] *Scotsman*, 25 April 1944.
[64] Smith, 'Official Responses to Juvenile Delinquency', 103.
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] *Ibid.*

argued that the Scouts played an important role in teaching youth the social roles and values of the British Empire, if only by way of their pledge: 'To do my duty to God and to the King'.[67]

Middle-class virtues and working-class problems

This chapter has so far outlined a number of particular trans-migrant orientated features that characterised the Kindertransportees' care in Scotland. However, there is a limit to the pool of specific care initiatives formulated for the Kindertransportees. The CC more commonly utilised pre-existing welfare facilities and often failed to offer tailor-made provisions for the Kindertransportees' specific needs as foreign trans-migrant minors. This approach to the Kindertransportees' care seems to have been most acutely felt within schooling. Filtered into mainstream schooling, services were often unable to cater for foreign migrants' specific requirements. The linguistic barriers experienced by Kindertransportees were frequently left unattended or dealt with by them being placed with lower age groups in school. Nachtigall found that he was placed in third grade because he was unable to communicate with the teacher in his correct tier group.[68] Warton was also downgraded at school and recalls this experience as extremely disturbing.[69] Wuga was sent to Belhousey Boys' School, a lesser school for educationally challenged minors, because he could not speak English well.[70]

This approach to the Kindertransportees' care may best be viewed as one of integration by total immersion.[71] Kindertransportees were normally treated in the same manner as dependent British minors entering welfare. The most immediate problem with this approach was the linguistic adjustment Kindertransportees had to

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[67] Tammy M. Proctor, 'On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, vol.92, 2 (2002) 6; Linda Mahood, *Policing gender, class and family; Britain, 1850-1940,* (London, 1995); see also Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth', 103-134.
[68] WHMA/KC/RG-50.002*43.
[69] WHMA/USC:23855.
[70] WL/BL/74.
[71] FWPC/Elsie.

achieve. Elsie recalls the problems she encountered when she first arrived at her convent:

> My first order of business was to find out where the bathroom was … my first trauma was to find the word for bathroom. The German word is 'closet' and they would show me broom closets and china closets and all kinds of closets. That was a traumatic happening … The children and nuns were wonderful but we just could not communicate.[72]

Except for those in specific migrant residential care, Kindertransportees were often not given English lessons. Elsie eventually learnt English because she needed to survive in her new environment. Even for those in trans-migrant residential care, linguistic problems were not always attended to. Elijah, who came from Poland and could not speak German, found adjustment to life at Whittingehame extremely difficult and lonely:

> I had difficulties, as I did not speak German very well … my mother language was Polish. There were hardly any kids from Poland. There were Czech kids. There were no Polish kids as much as I remember. It was mainly German, Austrian, Czech … They could only speak the English they knew, some knew English as they learnt it at school, but most did not, so we spoke German.[73]

The reliance of the RCM upon pre-existing welfare facilities and provisions of care for all dependent minors in Scotland has meant that the Kindertransportees' care cannot be viewed as a solitary or unique event, but must be placed within the Scottish context of welfare services. The pre-existing welfare networks that were used to care for the Kindertransportees were already infused with British welfare values, ideas and approaches to philanthropy. As a result, the experiences of the Kindertransportees in care were responsive to Scottish welfare norms, procedures and philosophies to childcare.

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[72] *Ibid.*
[73] FWPC/Elijah.

Much like wider British philanthropic activity, Scottish philanthropy was motivated and driven by a middle-class social-reforming heritage. Despite the rise of self-help initiatives and the increased presence of a new working-class philanthropy, for the most part philanthropy remained the domain of the upper echelons of British society. This meant that the care of the Kindertransportees was shaped by middle-class social reforming ideals and expectations for a working-class community. Macnicol has argued that evacuation policies in Britain were organised by military, middle-class, male minds for working-class communities.[74] Mahood argues that philanthropy became the social link between the rich and the poor, as the upper echelons of society utilised reforming tools to police the lower echelons of society.[75] Mahood has pointed to the dominant role of 'bourgeois women' in the philanthropic arena.[76] She underlines that this represented the alliance of middle-class women with 'social-work' agencies.[77]

During the war years, the reforming agendas of the middle classes remained focused upon the working classes. Despite the pressures of war on domestic welfare, as Smith has argued, philanthropists were still preoccupied with the abnormalities of working-class family life.[78] Welshman and Stewart argue that, in light of evacuee problems, this concern intensified during the war years. Evacuee problems, they argue, reinforced 'conservative, behavioural interpretations of poverty', which placed blame upon poor parenting and social inadequacy.[79] British philanthropy sought to instill middle-class ideas about morality, lifestyle expectations and respectability upon the working classes. This created a British philanthropic heritage entrenched in social theories aimed at improving the working classes. Mahood has termed this a form of class racism in which the working classes were being 'ethnicized'.[80]

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[74] See Macnicol, 'The effect of evacuation'.
[75] Mahood, *Policing gender,* 7.
[76] Mahood, *Policing gender,* 6; See also Jacques Donzelot, *The policing of families* (New York, 1979).
[77] Mahood, *Policing gender*, 25.
[78] Smith, 'Official Responses to Juvenile Delinquency', 104.
[79] Welshman and Stewart, 'The Evacuation of Children in Wartime Scotland', 102.
[80] Mahood, *Policing gender*, 13.

Reforming initiatives were based on preconceived ideas about working-class social ills and middle-class presumptions for a means of overcoming these problems. Concern for the five pillars of evil, reported by Beveridge, were also combined with a legacy of philanthropic ideologies in Scotland.[81] Mahood has pointed to three dominant ideas in Scotland during this period - Calvinism, environmentalism and class eugenics – and argues that these continued to influence welfare services during the Second World War.[82] Smout argues that Scottish philanthropists remained diligent Calvinists and Presbyterians throughout the war years.[83] Together these ideas shaped the particular character of welfare initiatives for Kindertransportees.

In 1944, Joseph Sachs wrote in Scotland that the chief goal of welfare for dependent refugees was that they should 'cease to be a refugee in the shortest possible time'.[84] This article, published in the *Scotsman*, reflects the fundamental sentiment in British philanthropy to break dependency and aid self-help. In reference to the Basque migrant minors in Britain, Adrian Bell similarly argues that 'self-sufficiency is the common requisite of all those who are to survive in exile'.[85] The care of the Kindertransportees was not indulgent, but rooted in middle-class concerns about preventing long-term dependence on welfare. Two refugee social centres were established in Glasgow as a means to generate refugee self-help and independence.[86] Black has also argued that the 'interlocking cousinhood of wealth and privilege in Anglo-Jewry' was primarily concerned with encouraging self-help and teaching discipline to refugees in order for them to support themselves, independent from welfare.[87] Kushner has described this approach as 'scientifically-based charity', whereby Anglo-Jewry would prefer to refuse support rather than allow dependence.[88] This tendency meant that reluctance to provide support often emerges as a common denominator to Kindertransportees' experience of care in

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[81] NA/PREM/4/89/2.
[82] Mahood, *Policing gender*, 25.
[83] Smout, *Punishment and welfare (*Aldershot, 1985) 153; see also Mahood, *Policing gender*, 30.
[84] *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.
[85] Bell, *Only for 3 months,* 184.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] Black, *The social politics of Anglo-Jewry,* 390.
[88] Kushner, *Anglo-Jewry Since 1066: Place, Locality and Memory* (Manchester, 2009) 183.

Scotland. Braber argues that the Kindertransportees who were sent to the Gertrude Jacobson Orphanage were reluctantly accepted and cared for.[89] Buck argues that Kindertransportees were received as a 'burdensome responsibility' and viewed as foreign paupers.[90] The atmosphere of care could subsequently be one of resentment and limited value for those who continued to seek aid.

When welfare was provided, it was designed as a temporary solution only and rested on short-term plans. This meant that Kindertransportees often experienced multiple care placements across Britain. Mahood has shown that this tendency was deeply entrenched in Scottish philanthropic traditions.[91] Scotland's residential care facilities were intended for short durations of one or two years, while foster care was perceived as a temporary measure and adoption rarely sought. Thoburn also argues that the length and term of a foster placement was not central to placement.[92] This continued during the war years and Tydor Baumel has pointed to the prolific instances of billeting and re-billeting of evacuees between 1940 and 1941.[93] Patricia Lin states that 30% of evacuees were moved from their first homes between 1940 and 1944 and refers to one evacuee who was relocated eight times.[94] Kindertransportee Lore Segal's recollection of five different foster homes does not seem that peculiar or unique in comparison.[95]

Residential facilities established for Kindertransportees adhered to this short-term strategy. Whittingehame and Polton House only provided a two-year training course, while the Garnethill hostel catered for boys only during their schooling or training in Glasgow. Furthermore, Kindertransportees cared for outside of the refugee perimeter of welfare also recall many different homes and placements. Elsie was sent to a different home for each school holiday.[96] Rachel recalls her hostel in

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[89] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow,* 32.
[90] See Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army',
[91] Mahood, *Policing gender*.
[92] June Thoburn, 'Trends in Foster Care and Adoption', in Olive Stevenson (ed.) *Child Welfare in the UK* (Oxford, 1999) 122.
[93] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee', 180.
[94] Patricia Lin, 'National Identity and Social Mobility: Class, Empire and the British Government Overseas Evacuation of Children During the Second World War', *Twentieth Century British History,* vol.7, 3 (1996) 333.
[95] Lore Segal, *Other People's Houses* (New York, 1964).
[96] FWPC/Elsie.

Glasgow closing during the war years and receiving minimal support to find new accommodation.[97] She felt her experience reflected a lack of care or concern for providing permanency or stability to dependent trans-migrants. Little thought seems to have been given to providing a regular dependable environment.

Idleness was perceived as a fundamental cause of long-term dependency on British philanthropy. Subsequently, initiatives that sought to tackle idleness were an important feature of the Kindertransportees' care experience in Scotland. Richard Anthony has underlined the tough stance of the Scottish Poor Law towards able-bodied unemployed.[98] This approach was adopted by the CC. As a result, as Buck has argued, refugees could find themselves in a poverty trap after finding employment, because they were immediately removed from 'war refugee' status and further aid.[99] The CC prioritised helping Kindertransportees gain early employment experience. This not only included training, but also one-off loans and incentives to break dependency. Lola received a leaving package from Whittingehame of £3.[100] This contribution was meant to temporarily support Kindertransportees who decided not to pursue further *hachsharot* training, but instead sought independent employment.[101] Fry was given a loan of £10 in 1943 when he migrated to London to undertake employment.[102] Figure 2.4. indicates that the CC were successful in the objective to push Kindertransportees into early employment. The findings from the KA database show that the majority of Kindertransportees gained their first job between the ages of 14 and 17.

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[97] FWPC/Rachel.
[98] Richard Anthony, 'The Scottish Agricultural Labour Market, 1900-1939: A Case of Institutional Intervention', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, vol.46, 3 (August, 1993) 559.
[99] Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army', 329.
[100] WHMA/USC:43932.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] WHMA/USC: 31378.

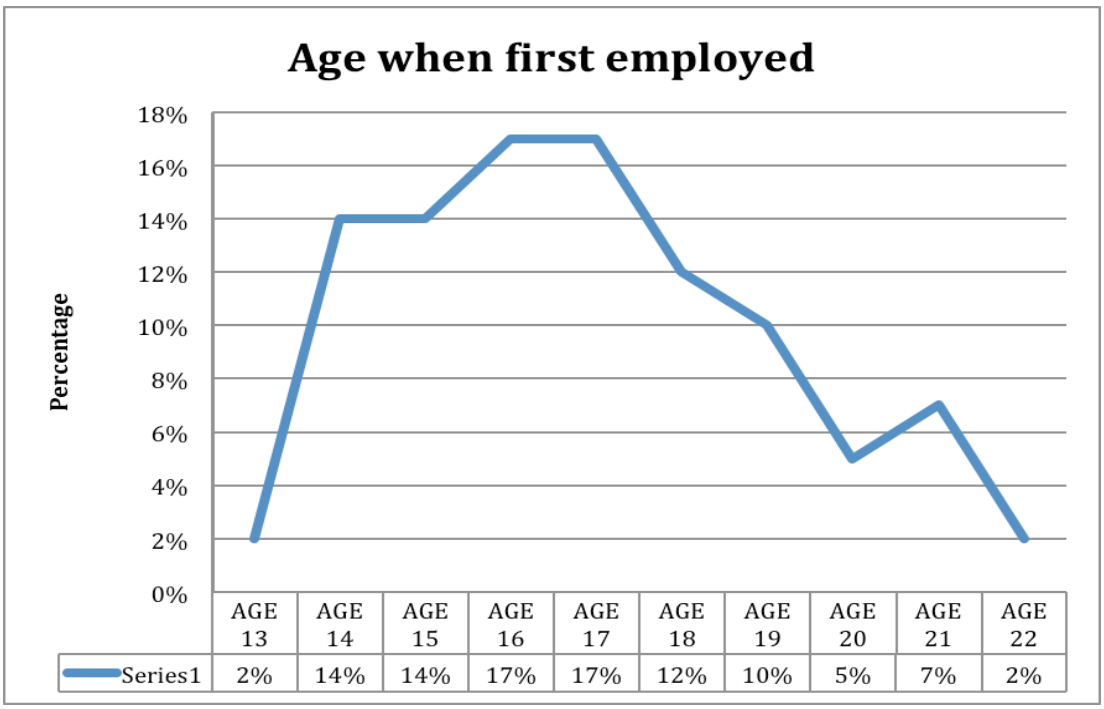

Figure 2.4. Kindertransportees' age at first employment

Source: KA:QU/SUP

The Kindertransportees were also affected by the legacy of the class Eugenics movement in Britain and its influence within welfare services. This responded to concerns about national degeneration.[103] Middle-class concerns about the degeneration of the lower echelons of British society led to a number of care initiatives aimed at providing a healthy working-class lifestyle. These schemes were rooted in class concerns rather than racial biological prejudices, and prescribed 'preventative and interventionist' methods.[104] The immediate concern was policing the good health of the nation. The legacy of the ill health of recruits during the South African Boer War, World War One and then during the period in World War

[103] See Francis Galton, *The Possible Improvement of the Human Breed, under the existing Conditions of Law and Sentiment* (London: Eugenics Education Society, 1909); Donald MacKenzie, 'Eugenics in Britain', *Social Studies of Science*, vol. 6, ¾ (September, 1976) 499-532; Emel Aileen Gökyiğit,'The Reception of Francis Galton's "Hereditary Genius" in the Victorian Periodical Press', *Journal of the History of Biology*, vol. 27, 2 (Summer, 1994) 215-240.

[104] Mahood, *Policing gender,* 13; Cathy Urwin and Elaine Sharland, 'From bodies to minds in childcare literature; advice to parents in inter-war Britain', in Roger Cooter (ed.), *In the name of the child; Health and welfare, 1880-1940* (London, 1992) 174.

Two, drew attention to the weakness and vulnerability of the nation.[105] As Proctor notes, 'young people symbolised national revitalisation'.[106] Accordingly, importance was placed upon healthy citizens for a strong nation.[107] As a result, the Kindertransportees received a certain level of health care in Scotland. Tuberculosis and rickets were a major concern. Bryder noted that a new category developed for children with weak health: 'pre-tuberculous'.[108] Attention was focused on improving the health of the child through schools. School medical inspections and milk provisions intended to improve basic health and nutrition, while later in 1931 the Board of Education required that primary schools should aid the health and happiness of their pupils.[109] Despite these advances, many people continued to be shocked at the 'verminous' nature of the children evacuated from cities.[110]

The migrant in Britain was the recipient of particularly extensive eugenic scrutiny and criticism. This was aimed at protecting the health of British citizens by way of only admitting 'desirable' and healthy migrants. Curio has revealed the extents to which the CC would go to weed out the 'feeble-minded' and weak child from transits from Greater Germany.[111] Once admitted to Britain, the CC was keen to maintain a healthy and desirable image of the trans-migrants. The CC wished to maintain this standard through basic medical check-ups to their physical health. As a result, basic health provisions were also provided specifically for the Kindertransportees in residential facilities. Jayson recalls that at the Millsie camp 'we had a dentist … I remember him pulling eight teeth in one go … there was a doctor, but he did not come all that often'.[112] Figure 2.5. shows that dentists also visited the Kindertransportees at Whittingehame.

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[105] Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood,* 178.
[106] Proctor, 'On My Honour', 7.
[107] See Priscilla Robertson, 'The home as a nest', in Lloyd de Mause (ed.) *The History of Childhood* (London, 1976) 427.
[108] Bryder, 'Wonderlands of Buttercup', 76.
[109] Richard Ellis, 'Effects Of War On Child Health', *The British Medical Journal,* vol. 1, 4544 (7 February 1948) 241; Bryder, 'Wonderlands of Buttercup', 76.
[110] Ellis, 'Effects Of War', 241; see also John Welshman and Stewart, J., 'The Evacuation of Children in Wartime Scotland: Culture, Behaviour and Poverty', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, vol.19 (2006) 28-53.
[111] Curio, 'Invisible children', 45.
[112] WL/BL/26.

Figure 2.5. Dentist at Whittingehame
Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs

Environmentalism was another social reform ideology that strongly coloured the Kindertransportees' care experience in Scotland. Environmentalism focused on remedying social ills and promoting physical health by way of providing particular environments deemed 'normal', respectable and healthy. Environmental causes continued to be emphasised as the causes of bad citizenship, juvenile delinquency and other working-class misdemeanors.[113] Schemes tended towards an aversion to city life and the promotion of a rural lifestyle. Seebohm Rowntree's reports of 1901 and 1936 had, for example, highlighted severe problems afflicting city children.[114] Rowntree's report, along with widespread impressions of a lice infested evacuee, generated a negative image of city life amongst philanthropists and led to the desire to remove children from the urban environment.[115]

The desire to create a healthier living environment led to schemes that intended to introduce 'fresh air' into the daily lives of minors. The open-air school movement, which developed between 1907 and 1939, promoted fresh air within city schools and rural breaks for urban dwellers.[116] Bryder notes that by 1937 there were 155 open-air schools, with 16,500 pupils, and that 40 out of Glasgow's 221 local

[113] Smith, 'Official Responses to Juvenile Delinquency', 104.
[114] B. Seebohm Rowntree, report: *Poverty: A study of Town Life* (1901) based on York and follow up study in 1936. These both pointed to the extent of children living in poverty in Britain.
[115] Cunningham, *Invention of Childhood,* 185.
[116] See Bryder, 'Wonderlands of Buttercup'.

schools adhered to 'open-air' principles by 1935.[117] In 1943, the SED advocated 'open-air life'.[118] The 'fresh-air movement' was not a prevailing influence on all welfare strategies in Britain, but it did play a role in the care of Kindertransportees in Scotland. One Kindertransportee, Nachtigall, was accommodated in Disert within the 'fresh-air' fund's scheme to relocate Edinburgh's urban children to the rural areas of Scotland for short breaks.[119]

The principles of the fresh-air movement were more widely adhered to and Kindertransportees were recipients of moves to push minors into out-door pursuits. The 1937 Physical Training and Recreation Act encouraged physical exercise, outdoor pursuits and membership of youth clubs, such as the Scouts. These all intended to promote ideals of the rural outdoor life. The Kindertransportees joined an array of youth groups, including Maccabi clubs for sports, and the Scouts or Zionist youth groups for rural excursions and outdoor pursuits.[120] There was also support for residential facilities based in rural areas. Whittingehame and Polton House both promoted rural lifestyles through agricultural training within a rural setting. Erica Simmons described the *hachsharot'*s intention to teach children to embrace a rural, physical and out-door lifestyle.[121]

The care of Kindertransportees was also shaped by the social and economic horizon placed on welfare ambitions by its middle-class creators. This decreed an approach and level of care based upon presumptions about respectable working-class lifestyles and expectations. Subsequently, a central character of Kindertransportees' care and nurture in Scotland was its working-class basis, character and content. Foster homes were frequently working-class.[122] Nachtigall was initially without a bed and 'put in a storage room' because his foster family lacked facilities to cater for him.[123] Walter was later sent to an even poorer family in Disert.[124] Residential

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[117] *Ibid.* 88.
[118] Thomas Johnston, Scottish Education Department; Compulsory Day Continuation Classes; Fourth Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland (Edinburgh: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1943) 18.
[119] WHMA/KC/RG-50.002*43.
[120] FWPC/Benson, Levi, Abaigael.
[121] Erica Simmons, '"Persecuted, Uprooted": Youth Aliyah and the Rescue of European Jewish Children', *Hadassah and the Zionist Project, (*Oxford 2006) 115.
[122] Abrams, *The Orphan Country,* 19, 24.
[123] WHMA/KC/RG-50.002*43.

facilities frequently reflected ideas about working-class needs. Ernst Flesch was cared for within the Gertrude Jacobson Orphanage in Glasgow, a care home established by Glasgow's Jewry in 1913 for poor Jewish orphans. He recalls that the orphanage embodied its intention to provide for 'poor Jewish kids'.[125] The orphanage was based in a poor district of Glasgow, supervised by persons of a poor economic background, and provided facilities equivalent to a poor household.[126] The accommodation was physically poor, financially overstretched and lacked adequate resources to cater for its growing number of inmates.[127] Flesch recalls that food in the orphanage was not good and the institution was comparably inferior to the neighbouring Garnethill hostel for Kindertransportees.

Residential facilities established specifically for Kindertransportees in Scotland also suffered from a similarly low level of care. Garnethill's hostel, despite Flesch's envious perception of its standards, is also recalled by Kindertransportees as lacking necessities, space and any comforts.[128] Ruff remembers the hostel's 'institutional' character.[129] Hubbers recalls that the condition of Whittingehame was extremely basic, large and impersonal.[130]

The nature of these care provisions do reflect a trend within residential facilities to provide only necessities, exclusive of variety or luxuries, yet this scenario was shaped by the restrictions caused by the war. Wartime circumstances led to a chronic lack of resources and supplies for existing schemes. This meant that care facilities were of a low standard and unable to make improvements. Abrams elucidates the widespread poverty and disruption to normal home life across Scotland due to the war.[131] Stewart and Welshman point to the inability of organisations to remedy problems because of the persistent and widespread lack of

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[124] *Ibid.*
[125] WL/BL/137.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] Collins, *Be Well!,* 70; See also SJA: Jack Cowen (24 September 1995).
[128] WHMA/USC:31378.
[129] WL/BL/50.
[130] WHMA/USC:43138.
[131] Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 173; see also Titmuss, *History of the Second World War*.

the necessary commodities, including accommodation, staff, food and equipment.[132] Nevertheless, a working-class standard of care characterised most Kindertransportees' care experiences.

The working-class living environments were often felt by the Kindertransportees to be of a much lower standard of living to their past lifestyles. Susan Kleinman, Chana Moshenska, Buck, Macnicol, Titmuss and Welshman collectively place too much faith in the class-conscious ethos of British society and its subsequent insurance that the appropriate placement was found for evacuees and trans-migrant minors based on social status.[133] Kleinman and Moshenska argue that 'wealthy, educated and cultured kinder were sent to English, gentile families with similar class identities; working-class minors were sent to working-class families, Jewish or gentile'.[134] Buck has also argued that a class-conscious Britain prevented Kindertransportees from being placed in lower socio-economic circumstances.[135] Buck argues that the Kindertransportees were matched with class appropriate care environments. Instead, it seems that Kindertransportees' socio-economic circumstances in Britain were predominantly 'pot-luck' and responsive more to availability than suitability.

The minors experienced both social and economic elevation and lowering in their position in society. The Kindertransportees arrived from a highly varied type of social and economic backgrounds, yet still a significant number did arrive from middle-class, professional and relatively wealthy backgrounds.[136] Despite this trend, the majority of Kindertransportees found they were now living in a lower working-class social and economic circumstance, whether this was within institutional facilities or foster homes. Elsie experienced a drop in her social and economic living

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[132] Stewart and Welshman, 'Evacuation and Social Policy During the Second World War: Myth and Reality', *Twentieth-Century British History,* vol. 9, no 1 (1998) 28-53.

[133] Susan Kleinman and Chana Moshenska, 'Class as a Factor in the Social Adaptation of the Kindertransport Kinder', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, 23 (2004) 31; Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army', 326; Macnicol, 'The Effect of the Evacuation', 3-31; Titmuss *History of the Second World War,* 103; Welshman, 'Evacuation and Social Policy', 28-53.

[134] Kleinman and Moshenska, 'Class as a Factor', 31.

[135] Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army', 326.

[136]WHMA/USC:23855; FWPC/Marthe; WHMA/31378.

environment during her school holidays when she was sent to an array of poor families. Of one placement in Brea Mar, Elsie recalls:

> Well the word poor does not do … they were poor in material things, very working-class.[137]

The working-class character of the Kindertransportees' care frequently meant that they were nurtured towards a very different future lifestyle, which possessed contrasting expectations to their previous lives in Greater Germany. Experiences were often marked by a need or demand from hosts to earn a wage and contribute to the household finances. However, the middle-class values that shaped care programmes did intend to encourage the Kindertransportees to adopt respectable working lives. This entailed their absorption into skilled manual or trade work, rather than unskilled irregular employment, which was perceived as a plague for working-class communities.

A certain pattern of employment emerges amongst Kindertransportees. Training opportunities did tend to be based upon demand and practicality and very much a 'luck-of-the-draw'.[138] Kindertransportees, such as Wuga, stress their unintended careers as a result.[139] Nevertheless, the tendency was not to filter youth into the lowest employment positions in the community, but rather to channel Kindertransportees into skilled blue-collar work. Summerfield has highlighted the real aversion felt towards employment opportunities that were viewed as unskilled, dirty work and associated with low social status.[140] Girls were encouraged to become domestics, rather than factory workers, an occupation deemed suitable for the lowest echelons of British working society.[141] This concern prevented many females from joining munitions factories or the ATS during the war years. Similarly, few boys became Bevan Boys and worked in the mines.[142] Initiatives also intended to deter boys from employment deemed to be unreliable or irregular, such as street

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[137] FWPC/Elsie.
[138] Rutter, *Refugee Children,* 60.
[139] WL/BL/74.
[140] *Ibid.* 29.
[141] Penny Summerfield, *Women workers in the Second World War; Production and Patriarchy in conflict* (London, 1984) 55.
[142] KA:QU/SUP.

trading, and strictly deter girls from prostitution.[143] Instead, boys were encouraged to become farm workers, disciplined servicemen or skilled in a reliable trade. In 1941, the agricultural committee estimated that by 1944 1,000 refugee children would be employed on farms and 800 Kindertransportees serving in the armed forces.[144] Some Kindertransportees were able to find white-collar employment, but these too tended to follow a trend of being within service industries, such as shop work, commercial employment, including bookkeeping or shorthand, typing, nursing or teaching for girls.

In order to adopt these respectable working-class lives, Kindertransportees were expected to gain a certain level of education and training. This required the acquisition of certain life skills suitable for respectable employment in Britain. In 1943, the SED's report stated that:

> Good citizenship is rarely possible unless suitable and satisfactory occupations have been found, and unless the individual has the ability, training and experience to carry them on … employment therefore lies behind any scheme of continued education.[145]

In line with these objectives, technical training, trade skills and apprenticeships dominated Kindertransportees' care experience. Mahood has shown that the child-in-care was intended to adopt 'honest and industrious' lives based upon 'knowledge of a trade'.[146] Minors in Scotland were also encouraged to undertake 'day continuation classes' up to the age of 16, after compulsory schooling, in order to push minors into craft and commercial occupations.[147] Schemes would teach trade skills through technical training or practical experience. The SED recorded a system of 'pre-employment' courses intended to give vocational training for specific occupations.[148]

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[143] Mahood, *Policing gender*, 117.
[144] *Ibid*; HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Report of CC, 1941.
[145] Johnston, 'Continuation classes', 5.
[146] *Ibid.* 89.
[147] *Ibid.* 6.
[148] Scottish Education Department; Public Education in Scotland, 40.

Specific initiatives formulated by the CC were also imbued with these objectives and training strategies. In 1944, Presland of the CC stated that 'the general rule of the Movement is that at about 16 the young people shall enter some vocational training to fit them for a future which must, in the best circumstances, be arduous'.[149] Fry went to Paisley Technical School and believes that 'irrespective of whether they are Jews or refugees, [people] take the view that you are more likely to earn a living if you do technical studies'.[150] He comments that technical school offered a relatively inexpensive yet efficient training option for employment compared to university (25 shillings to £9 respectively).[151] Whittingehame promoted trade skills for boys - carpentry, draughtsmanship, shoemaking and wood work – and domestic service or servicing roles for girls – cooking, laundry and dressmaking - although these gender lines were not rigid.[152] The approach to training at Whittingehame resembled that of residential schools in Scotland, whereby students would follow a 'half-time' system.[153] This divided their schooling between practical and academic learning. In pursuit of respectable employment, many Kindertransportees also undertook practical experience options in the form of apprenticeships. At the age of 15, Michael Warton became an apprentice within a furniture factory and learnt the trade skills of a cabinet-maker.[154]

The focus on practical respectable employment for the working-class member did mean that few Kindertransportees found their academic ambitions were supported. Before migration, the majority of the Kindertransportees of age had begun to undertake education aimed at higher academic involvement. Figure 2.6. illustrates that the highest number of respondents attended a Gymnasium before migration. Gymnasiums were designed to prepare students for a university education. In contrast, in Scotland, as previously mentioned, Kindertransportees were only expected to obtain a basic education. Kindertransportees were to acquire academic education up to the point of the school leaving certificate, or lowers in Scotland.[155]

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[149] Presland, *A Great Adventure,* 26.
[150] WHMA/USC:31378.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5, Report, 21 March 1939.
[153] Mahood, *Policing gender*, 86.
[154] WHMA/USC:23855.
[155] See B. J. Elliott, 'Early Examination Reform in Scotland and the Crisis in History

The majority of Kindertransportees would attend state schooling, along with Jewish education after school. At Polton House residents were sent to Bonnyrigg School.[156] However, academic expectations were not encouraged beyond the compulsory schooling age of 14 and 'only those with special gifts' were allowed to pursue full-time study after the age of 16. Despite the *Scotsman*'s report to the contrary, I have been unable to find any Kindertransportee at Polton House who recalls being given the option to attend night school at Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh.[157] In July 1944, the *Scotsman* also reported that Polton House currently possessed one girl who was 'working for her MA'.[158] However, my research suggests that this was the exception rather than the rule. Miss M.C. Cowan, the Chairman of the Children's sub-committee in Edinburgh, reported that of the 325 children on their list 'educational measures were being applied as strictly to refugee children as to Scottish children'.[159]

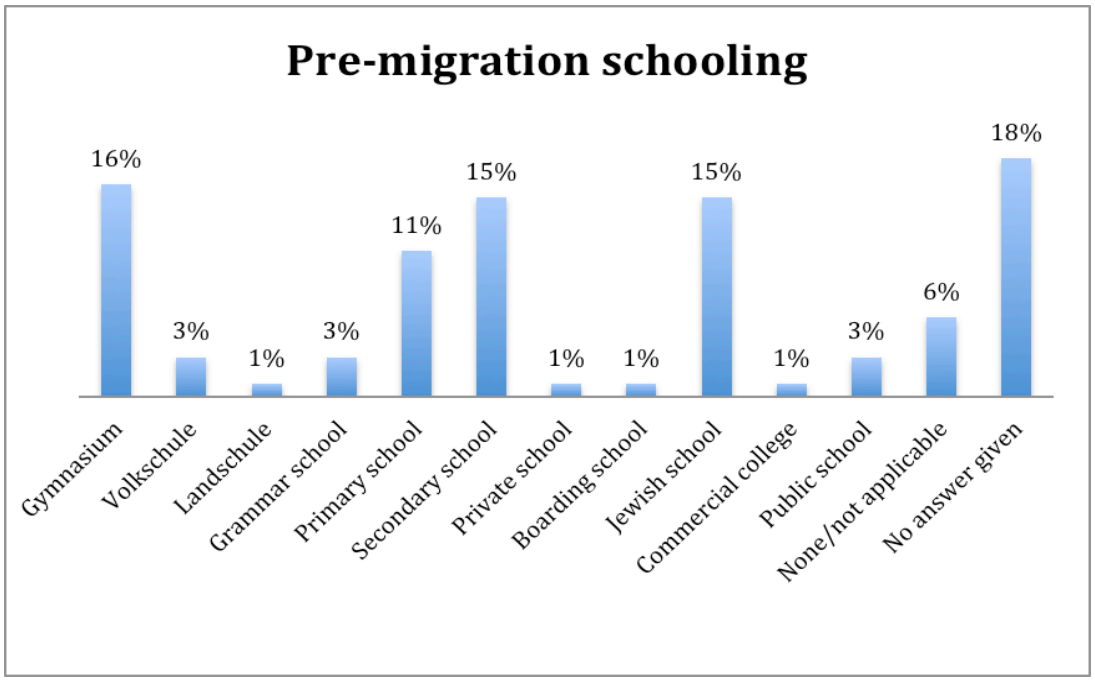

Figure 2.6. Pre-migration schooling

Source: KA:QU/SUP

1888-1939', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 1478-7431, vol.24, 1 (1992) 47 – 57.

[156] *Scotsman*, 26 July 1944.

[157] *Scotsman*, 26 July 1944.

[158] *Ibid.*

[159] *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.

Academic expectations in care facilities – residential and foster – tended to be low. Edna notes that the quality of teaching and education at Whittingehame was poor.[160] Josephina dwells on her 'lost career' as a pianist due to her limited education and training options in Scotland.[161] In foster care, Kindertransportees often found that their carer's education expectations were low. Ruff was sent to his local secondary school in Woodsire and recalls that his foster family had completely different expectations for education and employment based upon the local schooling system:

> At that time, school-leaving age was 14. There was a very different approach, English Chemists were, if you like, not of the same class as Austrian chemists. I mean it was a nice enough family, but the thought of me going to school after 14 or even going to university never entered their head. As far as they were concerned, as soon as I was 14, I didn't need to go to school and I needed to find somewhere to work.[162]

Often nurtured by caregivers with lower educational expectations, Kindertransportees frequently express their struggle to complete even their basic schooling.[163] Fry refused to undertake employment and was eventually evicted by his foster family.[164] In 1944, Eleanor Boll argued that children cared for within unskilled working-class homes were unlikely to pursue education beyond compulsory schooling age.[165] Few Kindertransportees were able to immediately pursue further full-time academic education after the age of 14. The point at which compulsory schooling ended became a watershed that brought to an end full-time education.[166]

Poor education opportunities were also due to the disruptions of war and a subsequent retarded educational system for all Scottish minors during the period.

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[160] FWPC/Edna.
[161] FWPC/Josephina.
[162] WL/BL/50.
[163] FWPC/Jan, Josephina, Edna; WHMA/USC:31378.
[164] WHMA/USC:31378.
[165] Eleanor S. Boll, 'Britain's Experience with Adolescents', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 236 (November, 1944) 77.
[166] Cunningham, *Children and Childhood,* 172.

Kröger's evaluation stresses the prevalence of poor educational policies, which allowed inadequate schooling during disruptive periods.[167] Steinberg underlines the disruptive impact of 'blackouts, shortages of staff and resources' as well as a lack of suitable premises for education.[168] Makeshift schools with haphazard teaching standards that lacked resources were the result. Boll described the situation in 1944 as a 'sketchy affair'.[169] Steinberg has argued that between 1939 and 1945 education services were 'severely disrupted', while Titmuss describes 'hundreds of thousands of children in evacuation areas' living without education and basic schooling services including free milk and health care.[170] It has been estimated that by May 1940 10% of school children in England and Wales were without elementary education services, and that by April 1941 210,000 children were not receiving full-time education.[171] In 1944, H.C. Dent described four clear stages of education during the war: 'Disintegration, recuperation, adaptation and fermentation'.[172]

Subsequently, the education experience for many of the Kindertransportees was poor and shaped by limited contact hours, substandard tuition and irregular attendance. Fry recalls that he wished to study physics in 1941, but that there was no teacher available at Paisley Technical School to teach physics.[173] Whittingehame depended on the staff's knowledge to shape the curriculum, rather than being able to source staff to fill specific subject posts. This meant that education was uneven and could not easily cater for the student's specific subject interests. Flesch recalls the impact of war upon his schooling:

> Then, in Scotland again, I did my first year of Secondary school in the hostel. But then these teachers were called up, you see, or took the place of those who were called up in Glasgow and so on. So, after that, we had only people

[167] Kröger, 'Child Exiles', 8-20.
[168] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 44.
[169] Boll, 'Britain's Experience with Adolescents', 77.
[170] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 30; Titmuss, *History of the Second World War,* 147.
[171] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 37.
[172] H.C. Dent, *Education in Transition* (London, 1944) 38.
[173] WHMA/USC:31378.

> who were Hebrew teachers. They didn't know how to deal with kids.[174]

There was also the problem of a lack of fellow students in schooling. This meant that a number of Kindertransportees were cared for in unorthodox education environments that lacked the normal classroom dynamics. Flesch recalls that in his local grammar school in Greenock he was the only student in his German class.[175]

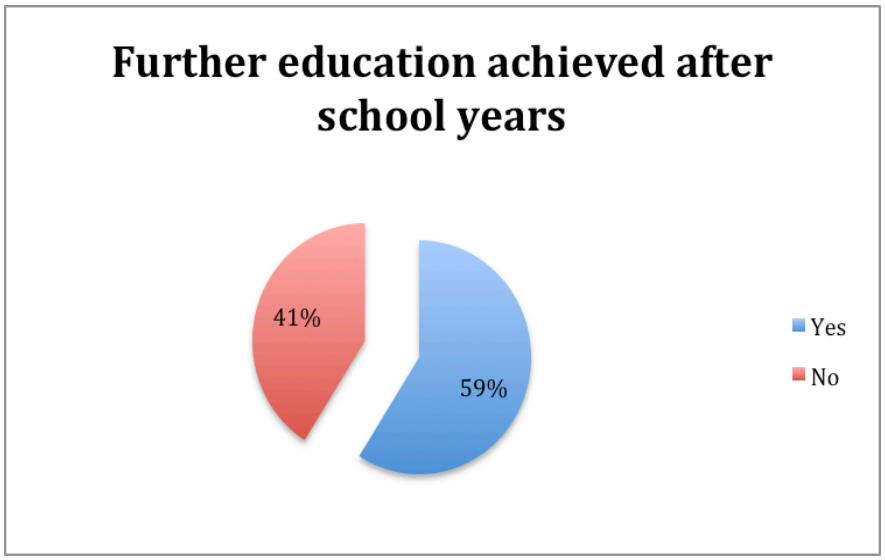

Figure 2.7. Further education of Kindertransportees

Source: KA:QU/SUP

Despite the prevalence of limited education for school-aged minors during the war, figure 2.7. indicates that further education was important to Kindertransportees and that many did achieve further qualifications. However, it is important to note that this was most often undertaken in later life after employment had been found. Night school and part-time study were the most popular forms of further education for Kindertransportees.[176] Rutter has also argued that many Kindertransportees continued further education and acquired scholarships.[177] Nevertheless, the majority (58%) could not and only 32% were able to pursue full-

[174] WL/BL/137.
[175] *Ibid.*
[176] KA:QU/SUP.
[177] Rutter, *Refugee Children in the UK*, 60.

time university education.[178] In 1939, there were only 70,000 students undertaking higher education in Great Britain and Kindertransportees did not constitute many of these places.[179]

Aside from educational and employment objectives, middle-class concerns also placed importance on female virtue. This meant care was shaped by initiatives aimed at protecting normative values for female morality and chastity. Scottish welfare facilities reinforced gender roles by way of education, training and employment directives. These all tended to focus on placing girls within protective living environments. This hoped to guard female 'respectability' by way of restricting girls' exposure to corruptible vices from the outside world.[180] The 'home' was deemed the safest place for females and this encouraged a tendency to support domestic service roles for girls.[181] This tendency informed the CC's policy for female Kindertransportees' care and employment placements in Britain. It was viewed that girls could be placed more easily in domestic positions in London and therefore fewer girls were sent to Scotland.[182] Many of those that were sent to Scotland were also directed into domestic work. Rachel was placed as a domestic in Edinburgh, while Edna was sent into domestic work after completing her training at Whittingehame.[183]

The Kindertransportees' care was also directed by concerns to teach minors against immoral lifestyles. Kushner has argued that there was an important overarching consensus within Anglo-Jewry to prevent negative stories about Jewish females and their role in British society.[184] He points to the myth of the Jewish prostitute and her danger to the Gentile man. Trans-migrant residential facilities did possess a strict code of conduct rooted in middle-class moral standards. Edna believes that Whittingehame, a coeducational facility, possessed 'an extremely high

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[178] KA:QU/SUP.
[179] Peter G. Moore, 'The Next Decade', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Series A (General), vol.146, 3 (1983) 213.
[180] Mahood, *Policing gender*, 25.
[181] *Jewish Echo*, 9 May 1941.
[182]HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/2, Letter from GCJR.
[183] FWPC/Rachel, Edna.
[184] Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice,* 67.

moral standard'.[185] Drew wrote to his parents of his role as housemaster in protecting the girls' chastity.[186] Drew's bedroom was located at the entrance to the girls' dormitories, which allowed him to guard the girls from unwarranted male visitors.

Raising a child in care: A British tradition

In addition to middle-class objectives for the future of the child-in-care, there also existed a heritage of theories about their nurturing needs whilst in care. Finlayson has argued that there existed no national guideline for childcare services, yet there did exist an assortment of theories and ideas that informed approaches.[187] Emerging theories and ideas - psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis - battled to gain ground with older ideas that were already entrenched within Scottish society with varying degrees of success. This meant, as Mahood, Abrams, Freidel-Mertz, Tydor Baumel and Steinberg have all argued, that there was an experimental character to welfare provision in Britain and a lack of conformity.[188] Freidel-Mertz and Hammel both point to the experimental educational institutions that were created during the war years in which Kindertransportees were cared for.[189] This, they argue, meant that the very nature of Kindertransportee reception and care was not based on any grounded guidelines and was thus a learning curve for all involved. It also meant that the care of Kindertransportees under Scottish welfare was by no means uniform. Various strategies were advanced in an *ad hoc* and experimental manner. However, this chapter now intends to discuss the main strategies that were adhered to in Scotland and which subsequently shaped the Kindertransportees' upbringing.

During this period, the public were particularly concerned about the threat of juvenile delinquency in Britain and this fear shaped elements of the

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[185] FWPC/Edna.
[186] MCPC/Drew, Letter, 25 April 1940.
[187] Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier', 195.
[188] Tydor Baumel, *Twice a Refugee,* 181*;* Steinberg, *Jewish Education,* 27; Abrams, *The Orphan Country*; Hildegard Feidel-Mertz and Andrea Hammel, 'Integration and Formation of Identity: Exile Schools in Great Britain', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, 23 (2004) 81.
[189] Feidel-Mertz and Hammel, 'Integration and Formation of Identity', 81.

Kindertransportees' nurture in Scotland. Smith has argued that the perceived rise in offences by juveniles was less a demarcation of the escalation of juvenile delinquency during the period, and more a reflection of the increased public awareness and concern about the offender.[190] The unattached youth was believed to be roaming unmolested around Britain, terrorising good citizens. Fear of the dangerous adolescent led to the emergence of welfare strategies to police this section of society.[191] The SED's 1943 report was heavily weighted in concerns for youth.[192] In 1944, Boll reported the perceived magnitude of the problem during the war years. Boll states that in the 'first 12 months of the war, juvenile delinquency had increased 41%' in Britain.[193] In Scotland, a Youth Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Keith, was established to tackle concerns about youth problems.[194]

The subsequent strategies designed to combat the juvenile delinquent developed a number of features and focuses. The desire to prevent delinquency and reform male youths, Smith has argued, led to the merging of territory between juvenile punishment, provisions for youth leisure and welfare in Scotland during the war.[195] This meant that the period was marked by changes in approaches to tackling delinquency and youth. Mahood has explained that there was no uniform strategy during this period.[196] However, juvenile delinquency was perceived as a male phenomenon and focused on those aged between 12 and 17 years of age. Attention focused on the dangerous 'unattached' youth and their potential for unsupervised bad behaviour. Smith has identified a consensus on three issues that remained the focus of juvenile reformers: poor parenting, environment of care and lack of recreational activities.[197] These concerns led to welfare strategies aimed at maintaining the supervision of youth and directing them towards solutions for the proper use of their

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[190] Smith, 'Official Responses to Juvenile Delinquency', 85.
[191] Boll, 'Britain's Experience with Adolescents'; See also Mahood, *Policing gender*.
[192] Johnston, 'Continuation classes'.
[193]' *The Spectator,* 'Juvenile Delinquency', vol.166, No. 5895 (June 20, 1941), cited in Boll, 'Britain's Experience with Adolescents'.
[194] Johnston, 'Continuation classes', 4.
[195] Smith, 'Official responses to Juvenile Delinquency', 78.
[196] Mahood, *Policing gender*, 3.
[197] Smith, 'Official responses to Juvenile Delinquency', 104.

leisure time. Schemes also worked to push youth into early employment to avoid not only dependency but also delinquency and anti-social habits.

The desire to police youth was particularly central to the Kindertransportees' care because of their unsupervised status in Britain. There is a common narrative within Kindertransport historiographies, which overlooks the significance of their situation in Britain as a large number of unaccompanied youth who were prone to misbehaving (see Chapter Five for information about Kindertransportee behavior).[198] The CC was concerned that they prevent negative publicity surrounding any Jewish migrant in Britain. Accordingly, they sought to quell any potential problems with Kindertransportees' bad behaviour. In 1939, the CC wrote of the fear surrounding minors who proved 'difficult to raise' and the impact they would have on placing 'normal' children.[199] The CC feared that difficult children would scare off potential guarantors. In 1944, Presland recorded the problems of managing a surplus of adolescent males:

> One of the problems of hospitality, which manifested itself, was that of the older boys and youths. A large number of these had been included in the earlier transports because of the danger they ran of being sent to concentration camps, but it is clearly more difficult to find hospitality for an adolescent, with all the problems arising from his age, than for a young child who can be fitted into the life of a family.[200]

To tackle these problems, care schemes drew strategies from a legacy of Behaviourism. This focused on managing and controlling the minor, with predetermined rules and punishments.[201] It is possible to distinguish four main features to the Kindertransportees' care, which were prescribed by Behaviourism: regimentation, routine, discipline and strict punishment.[202] These were all felt to best manage, police and control the potential dangerous juvenile in every youth.

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[198] WL/1368/2/2/1-166, Reunion of the Kindertransport Documents 1987-2002.
[199] Letter from CC, 22 June 1939) cited in Curio, 'Invisible children', 49.
[200] Presland, *ROK*, 23.
[201] Urwin and Sharland, 'From bodies to minds in childcare literature', 180, 188; see also Cunningham, *Invention of Childhood,* 192.
[202] Urwin and Sharland, 'From bodies to minds in childcare literature', 188; Cunningham, *Invention of Childhood,* 192.

Behaviourism also prescribed strategies that were enveloped in remedial management techniques. Mahood and Abrams's research have both shown how Scotland had progressed from initially removing the juvenile from the home environment and placing them in places of detention, to establishing remedial residential institutions to reform minors.[203] This led to the use of day industrial schools and residential reformatories during the nineteenth century. These operated by way of purposeful daily management strategies. These would enable the complete control of the unattached youth by occupying every hour of their day.

Regimentation of residents' daily lives was at the heart of the remedial care strategy. Kindertransportees have reflected on the centrality of regimentation to their upbringing in Scottish residential facilities. Edna recalls that everyone at Whittingehame was allowed the same amount of material possessions.[204] At Whittingehame, Kindertransportees were also given a morning roll call and daily life was based upon an organised rotation system.[205] The training programme at Whittingehame adhered to a strict tri-partite structure encompassing the trainees' entire day. Each day was divided between certain hours designated for practical work, academic education and cultural pursuits.[206] Little time was left over for the children to choose a personal activity.

This approach prioritised a fully encompassing daily routine. A regimented daily structure afforded little time for the minors to spend freely. Elsie was cared for in the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Aberdeen, and recalls of her life that:

> Everything was regimented including your dining … You got up too early, 6.30, did your bed, wash etc, and had to be downstairs 7.30am ish then there was mass, then breakfast, then housework or what ever your assignment was like dusting or moping, and then you went to class until lunchtime. After lunch you had one hour or recreation, which was usually a supervised activity. Maybe walking, having a baseball game, going to a field to practise hockey and then back to class until 4.00pm. Then tea time and then study hall, then rosary,

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[203] See Mahood, *Policing gender*; Abrams, *The Orphan Country*.
[204] FWPC/Edna.
[205] *Ibid.*
[206] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5; see also *Jewish Echo*, 10 February, 24 March 1939.

> then homework, and you had so much homework, which you had to drive yourself to get done before dinner time, about 6.30pm, then after supper there was an hour or half of recreation, such as Scottish country dancing … then by 9.00pm you were dead to the world.[207]

Care schemes also adopted a paternalistic approach and sought to police the juvenile by way of entrenching the minor's daily life in a blanket of firm discipline.[208] Cunningham has pointed to the presumption that existed that minors could be taught to behave in certain ways by 'rewards and punishments'.[209] Institutions used a blanket code of behaviour to discipline the resident body. These regulated boundaries were often static and unlike rules that can be renegotiated in small family environments.

The isolated cloistered character of residential facilities meant that rules and regulations would encroach on every hour of the Kindertransportees' daily lives. Elsie recalls discipline in the convent in Aberdeen:

> In those days it was a cloistered order and very strict. You were not supposed to speak except during meals at certain times between the bells and when you were spoken to at class.[210]

However, this aspect of the Kindertransportees' care is often recalled as one of the most familiar aspects of their upbringing, mirroring their lives before migration. Isabel points to the strict and regimented habits of her German family and especially her two aunts who supervised her as a child.[211] Edna also states that she was 'used to discipline … you had to make your bed, you had to be punctual, you had to do your jobs'.[212]

Despite some similarities, the forms of punishment used in residential facilities were often very different to those used by parents. Interviewees have emphasised the use of parental authority and individual accountability to enforce

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[207] FWPC/Elsie.
[208] Mahood, *Policing gender*, 7.
[209] Cunningham, *Children and Childhood,* 175.
[210] FW/PC/Elsie.
[211] FWPC/Isabel.
[212] FWPC/Edna.

self-discipline in the family environment.[213] Few suggest that their parents used physical force to discipline them as minors.[214] Mahood indicates in her research that corporal punishment continued to be utilised in some Scottish residential facilities during this period.[215] She describes an extreme incident within a Scottish Roman Catholic reformatory between 1927 and 1934, where a boy was beaten so severely that he could not get up for nine days.[216] Smith also argues that the striking of children with a cane continued to be used in remand homes and other residential facilities.[217] However, Smith does point out that it became less common during this period and gradually only equated to '1% of cases' in which punishment was sought.[218] Kindertransportees' testimonies do not suggest that corporal or extreme bodily punishment was enforced. Nevertheless, physical forms of punishment were used against Kindertransportees. In Whittingehame, headmaster Maxwell is recalled by Kindertransportees as wielding a slipper against misbehaving residents.[219] Another resident recalls being smacked across the face in the dining area by a member of staff.[220] This physical approach to discipline was often unfamiliar to Kindertransportees.

The threat of physical or certain punishments were also used to discipline Kindertransportees by way of a deterrent. Edna refers to the disciplinary approach at Whittingehame as very different to that normally issued within *hachsharot:* 'obedience out of fear that you would be punished (rather than) self discipline for the collective.'[221] Ernespie House's male hostel supervisor enforced a strict disciplinary regime, which few Kindertransportees dared to challenge.[222]

Collective management strategies were also used to control the Kindertransportees. These used forms of collective punishment, such as prohibitions that prevented residents' activity or threats of expulsion from the care environment.

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[213] FWPC/Rachel.
[214] WHMA/USC:3679.
[215] Mahood, *Policing gender,* 97.
[216] *Ibid.*
[217] Smith, 'Official responses to Juvenile Delinquency', 98.
[218] *Ibid.*
[219] FWPC/Levi.
[220] *Ibid.*
[221] FWPC/Edna.
[222] SJA: Ernestpie House reunion documents.

The latter was particularly unique to an institution because it emphasised the insecure, temporary nature of the facility, unlike the home. Levi recalls his emotional upset after being expelled from Whittingehame.[223] Kindertransportees at Whittingehame were also 'gated' if they misbehaved, meaning that they would not be allowed beyond the school perimeters for outings.[224] This was a form of collective punishment because if a group leader was gated, the whole group would be prohibited from leaving the grounds. Elijah recalls the significant impact of this approach in the punishment of the Kindertransportees: 'One of the punishments was they could not go on an outing and an outing was very very important to us as we were closed in all the time.'[225]

Despite the importance placed on supervising youth and controlling juveniles, discipline of the Kindertransportees in care, in reality, often proved to be weak.[226] This was largely due to a lack of information, accountability and/or adequate staff. Supervisors of Kindertransportees were often unable to respond to individual problems because of the minimal priority and time given by the RCM to disseminating information about individuals. The CC sought to maintain jurisdiction and control over regional philanthropy. This meant that their central subdivision, the RCM, did not send Kindertransportees' personal records to local caregivers or regional committees. As a result, caregivers had limited information about their charges and this made it difficult to offer intimate care. Such problems also afflicted the majority of non-refugee residential facilities in Britain.[227] Titmuss and, later, Abrams have contributed to this discussion by pointing to the general ignorance of hosts to their charges' needs due to the failure of non-refugee organisations to provide this information.[228] Cunningham describes the reliance on numbers rather than individual names in some facilities.[229] Numbers were used for the Kindertransportees during transit to Britain, but this tactic does not seem to have

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[223] FWPC/Levi.
[224] *Ibid.*
[225] FWPC/Elijah.
[226] Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army', 329.
[227] Titmuss, *History of the Second World War,* 103.
[228] Titmuss, *History of the Second World War,* 103; Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 59.
[229] Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood,* 178.

been continued in care. However, Kölmel rightly argues that with regards to the refugees in Scotland this scenario, in which caregivers worked in ignorance, was even more acute because of their foreign backgrounds and particular circumstance.[230]

The weak level of supervision and discipline of Kindertransportees was also due to the lack of clear accountability or responsibility for charges.[231] Official guardianship was never completely clarified for Scotland's Kindertransportees, for whom Gorell only became 'tutor'.[232] Handler felt that there were problems of misbehaviour amongst Kindertransportees because there was a lack of accountability amongst organisations for the individual minor and limited authority when problems arose.[233]

Weak and limited discipline was also due to an increasingly limited pool of persons available to provide supervision. The disruptions caused by war challenged traditional resources within a Scottish society for supervising youth. Boll has also argued that a situation of inadequate supervision and care existed due to mobilisation and evacuation.[234] Macnicol and Welshman both point to the development of mass British migration during this period on a domestic and international level.[235] Tydor Baumel points to this occurrence in rural areas following the second stage of drafting into the army.[236] Mass population movements led to the disintegration of communities and the breakdown of their traditional informal frameworks for supervising youth. Evacuation or drafting to the forces also broke family units and weakened the stability of the private sphere of the community. Tydor Baumel underlines the impact of this on evacuees, who experienced multiple losses of familial support and 'normal' supervising social structures.[237] Legarreta has also

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[230] Rainer Kölmel, 'Problems of Settlement; German-Jewish Refugees in Scotland', in Gerhard Hirschfield (ed.) *Exile in Great Britain; Refugees from Hitler's Germany* (London, 1984) 257.
[231] HL/SC/MS116/157/AJ396/5.
[232] HL/SC/MS183/290/F1/GEN.473/6/4/CEC/SS/E.
[233] WL/BL/25.
[234] Boll, 'Britain's Experience with Adolescents', 81.
[235] Macnicol, 'The Effect of the Evacuation'; Welshman, 'Evacuation and Social Policy', 28-53.
[236] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee', 179.
[237] *Ibid.*

shown that the Basque minors in Britain experienced a similarly limited level of supervision due to actual shortages in available people during wartime.[238] These experiences are echoed in Kindertransportees' testimonies. The CC expressed their anxiety at the absence of a family unit or close community, normally relied upon to govern youth, and the wartime issues for finding substitute supervisors.[239]

This situation was not easily rectified and led to limited availability or permanency of staff to educate or supervise Kindertransportees.[240] Education or residence facilities were forced to rely on inexperienced staff or were forced to close, leaving Kindertransportees without access to basic schooling or daily supervision. This situation was not unique to Scotland and Gopfort has pointed to the problems experienced by Ann Essinger at Bunce Court, England, in finding staff during the war years.[241] As a result, Kindertransporteess' supervisors were frequently inappropriate and unsuitable. Flesch recalls that a substitute teacher 'had lived in Italy and he told us he was in the Fascist youth in Italy', while the other substitutes just 'couldn't deal with us'.[242]

A lack of adequate supervision also meant that Kindertransportees often experienced care marked by accidents or management problems. Accidents did occur when Kindertransportees were left to guide themselves on a daily basis. This was a particular problem afflicting Kindertransportees working within agricultural training centres. At Whittingehame, Kindertransportees were left unsupervised in charge of agricultural machinery, including a combine harvester. This could result in accidents. In September 1940, one such Kindertransportee lost his leg after stepping into the thrashing machine.[243]

The weaknesses that were emerging within traditional community, family and welfare structures for supervising youth meant that importance was now being placed on youth groups and recreational activities to attach the 'unattached' juvenile. Smith has shown that philanthropists were preoccupied with 'neutralising the effect

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[238] Legarreta, *The Guernica Generation*, 126.
[239] Presland, *ROK,* 24.
[240] Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army', 329.
[241] Anna Essinger, *Bunce Court School, 1933-1943,* 3, cited in Gopfert, 'Kindertransport: History and memory', 61.
[242] WL/BL/137.
[243] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 6 February 1943.

of war conditions' by finding 'counter-attractions' for youth.[244] In order to prevent deviancy and to mold good citizens, philanthropy focused on extending leisure facilities, which could provide 'wholesome and healthy' pastimes.[245] The youth group was seen as a remedy to improper use of leisure time and unsupervised juvenile free time after school.[246] Proctor and Cunningham have both stressed the relevance of the youth movement beyond class reform, arguing that their central role was also the policing of youth in the 1930s and 1940s.[247] In 1942, the SED sought to register youth between 16 and 17 years of age in order to determine the extent of the problem of the 'unattached' youth.[248] The results showed that 'unattached' Scottish youth aged 16 constituted 47.2% of boys and 71.4% of girls. 683,000 'unattached' youth were interviewed in order to uncover the root of the problem. Boll underlines that not only money and long working hours prevented recreational participation in youth groups, but also the popularity of 'unattached' social activities, such as 'cinemas, dance halls, billiard saloons, company of the opposite sex and hanging out'.[249]

Youth movements accordingly emerged as a dominant force in the supervision and care experience of youth in Scotland. Kindertransportees became involved in youth groups of various affiliations and orientations. Kindertransportees' choices tended to be based on financial feasibility. Some groups required uniforms or membership subscriptions, while others did not. Popular choices included the Scouts or the Jewish Lads Brigade, the Zionist youth groups - Habonim, Bachad or Hashomer Hatzair – or Communist or Socialist groups. Benson joined multiple youth groups at any one time with his friend in Glasgow.[250]

Within their chosen groups the Kindertransportees would participate in recreational activities and cultural enrichment activities. Elijah and Dena belonged to the Habonim youth group at Whittingehame. They recall that within their chosen

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[244] Smith, 'Official responses to Juvenile Delinquency', 100.
[245] *Ibid.* 99.
[246] Scottish Education Department: Public Education in Scotland, 40.
[247] Proctor, 'On My Honour', 6; Cunningham, *Invention of Childhood,* 203.
[248] The Board of Education, Scottish Education Department, *The Youth Registration in 1942 (*1943), cited in Boll, 'Britain's Experience with Adolescents', 80.
[249] *Ibid*. 76.
[250] FWPC/Benson.

group the Kindertransportees would participate in a range of activities and weekend excursions.[251] Flesch would be invited on Highland weekend retreats with his Habonim group.[252] Garnethill's hostel directed its residents to join the Maccabi clubs in Glasgow, which would supervise physical health and sporting activities in the evenings on a weekly basis.[253]

Refugee cultural centres were also popular choices amongst Kindertransportees in Scotland. These centres intended to relieve the cultural isolation of the foreign migrants and occupy them in a controlled environment during their free time.[254] In Glasgow, Kindertransportees joined the Sauchiehall club.[255] At the club, Wuga recalls that 'we learnt a lot' and members participated in lectures, music and discussion groups.[256] Fry recalls the access this club granted them to cultural and educational resources under the supervision of the adult migrant community:

> It was run by somewhat older people ... who were essentially political refugees, some of them may have been Jews but did not admit it, … there were quite a lot of Czech students … quite a few were studying to be doctors … and there were a lot of more impressionable people and we had a lot of discussions about politics and philosophy and took part in acting, which they wrote, which was very anti-fascist, but was somewhat communist dominated, so it tended to follow the party line and it provided a lot of interest and I suppose support to all of these young people.[257]

The Sauchiehall club was closely connected to the Scottish Refugee Centre (SRC), which opened in 1941.[258] The SRC coordinated its activities with other refugee clubs in Glasgow, including the Freie Deutsche Jugen (Free German Youth), established in 1943, and the Freier Deutscher Kulturbund (Free German Cultural Union)

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[251] FWPC/Elijah, Dena.
[252] WL/BL/137.
[253] HLSC/MS183/384/F1.
[254] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish,* 77-78.
[255] *Ibid.*
[256] WL/BL/74.
[257] WHMA/USC:31378.
[258] *Jewish Echo*, 11 June 1941.

established in 1942. The youth clubs played an important role in the trans-migrants' care in Scotland. Some provided alternative education courses and, as Collins argues, some also helped prepare young people for migration.[259]

The welfare strategies aimed at preventing the emergence of dangerous juveniles also included moves to promote good mothering. Pro-natalists viewed the problems of youth as largely inherited from deficient mothers. Smith has argued that there was a 'pervasive pro-natalist climate of opinion in Scotland' during this period and that these had identified the fault of the 'neglectful mother' for rearing delinquent sons.[260] To rectify these problems, schemes focused on reforming young girls into model female prototypes. Smith has shown that, while boys were perceived as the danger and efforts were made to reform their wicked ways, girls were perceived as the root cause and prescribed a number of specific remedies to prevent them producing more delinquents.[261]

Remedies would place importance upon traditional domestic roles for girls in preparation for their future roles as mothers. Girls were to learn to adopt supporting roles for men and possess virtues that would enable them to rear good citizens in the future. Education and training services adhered to specific ideas about correct gender roles. Mahood has underlined the role of schools in teaching minors their particular 'positions in the class and gender order'.[262] Harry Hendrick refers to this strategy as the 'socialisation' of minors.[263] In 1943, the SED advocated that females should be 'occupied at home' and therefore 'home-making and keeping must form an important part of the future training'.[264] By 1958, the SED's position had not changed and continued to advocate 'handicraft' for boys and 'homecraft' for girls.[265] This approach focused on teaching girls 'mothercraft' and skills required for

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[259] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 80.
[260] Smith, 'Official responses to Juvenile Delinquency,' 87.
[261] *Ibid.* 103.
[262] Mahood, *Policing gender,* 11.
[263] Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth: Age, Class and the Male Youth Problem, 1880-1920* (Oxford, 1990) 123; Mahood, *Policing gender,* 12.
[264] Johnston, *Continuation classes,* 6.
[265] Scottish Education Department, Public Education in Scotland.

managing a household.[266] Esther Breitenbach, Alice Brown and Fiona Myers have argued that this has led to the marginalization of females in Scotland.[267]

Residential facilities structured their training programmes to adhere to these traditional patriarchal codes of behaviour for girls. Training facilities habitually utilised gendered curriculums. At Whittingehame, this was not imposed along a solid immovable line, but it did set a normative benchmark for initial placements of female and male trainees. Girls were able to undertake practical farm work, including fieldwork and harvesting, but they were most commonly occupied with domestic service and servicing roles. Abaigael explains the delicate balance adhered to in Whittingehame between pragmatically allowing everyone to 'muck-in' and the maintenance of gender roles based on female domesticity:

> There were two jobs the girls never did, one was attend the boilers and the kitchen range because that was done with coal … also the heating, that all had to be done and then we had a cobbler's shop where only the boys went …. Girls went into the kitchen, into the laundry, and we went into the sewing room … the boys didn't go into the sewing room, but they had to go into the laundry … the girls had to do more housework and cooking, but we all had to go out onto the fields, come summer or winter and do field work, agricultural work as well as the boys, except the boys were sent to do harder jobs. They went with a forester.[268]

Figures 2.8, 2.9 and 2.10 capture the usual gender ratio in different occupations within Whittingehame. Girls dominated the sewing rooms and kitchens, while the boys were greater in numbers within physical farm labouring jobs outside.

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[266] Cunningham, *Invention of Childhood,* 190.
[267] Esther Breitenbach, Alice Brown, Fiona Myers, 'Understanding Women in Scotland', *Feminist Review*, vol.58, International Voices (Spring, 1998) 45.
[268] FWPC/Abaigael.

Figure 2.8. Sewing room

Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs

Figure 2.9. Kitchen work

Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs

Figure 2.10. Kindertransportees filling buckets

Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs

A similar *hachsharot* centre based in Essex outlined its gender policy in its prospectus:

> Most girls are expected at some time or other during their course of instruction, to learn one or more of the various

> branches of housekeeping, i.e. cooking, laundry and housework. Girls who show a special inclination and aptitude for agricultural work will normally be allowed to remain on this work during their entire course.[269]

The agricultural training centres for the Kindertransportees therefore, seem to have adopted a liberal approach to a deeply ingrained gender-based curriculum. In 1944, the *Scotsman* reported of Polton House that boys were in handicrafts and girls in domestic subjects. That 'cooking and sewing occupy a good deal of the time of the older girls, but washing up is strictly rationed' between boys and girls'.[270] At Whittinghame, this liberal balance meant that the majority of girls divided their time between fulfilling domestic duties within the house, the care and maintenance of the other children, their instruction in domestic or servicing spheres, and the care of the poultry yards or fieldwork. They received instruction from the previous headmistress of Frankfurt's Domestic Science College, Mrs Laquer, and her deputy, Ruth Fishall.[271] Hubbers recalls that half of the day was devoted to 'laundry, housework' and either the mending or making of clothes, shoes and other necessary items for the children.[272] The girls also received cooking lessons, learning to make jams and other essentials such as butter. Horticultural experience was provided, but this tended to be limited to managing the dairy and the small plot of land set aside for the girls.[273] A number of female Kindertransportees did acquire training beyond the boundaries of domesticity; however, these too adhered to preferred gender roles in Scotland that would not compete with male roles. Most commonly, these included clerical work, nursing or teacher training.[274]

The boys at Whittingehame were given a wider scope of training opportunities and different daily chores to the girls. Edna recalls that at Whittingehame 'they tried hard to give the boys a profession in which they could

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[269] HL/PL/*Bachad Farm Institute: The Lodge*, Prospectus, 3.
[270] *Scotsman*, 26 July 1944.
[271] WHMA/USC:43138.
[272] *Ibid.*
[273] Michael Cohen, 'Report from Kfar Hanasi,' in *Hashannah; The Scottish Jewish Year Book; 1957-58* (Glasgow 1955-56) 17.
[274] Mahood, *Policing gender* 131.

work in, but not for the girls'.[275] Edna believes that this meant the boys' daily instruction surrounded agricultural work in the fields, the maintenance of farm machinery and becoming proficient in a trade: carpentry, mechanics or draughtsmanship. Drew photographed the male residents undertaking their training and daily duties on the workshops. Figure 2.11 shows two boys undertaking cobbler's training. The boys were also responsible for the physical restoration and alterations needed to maintain the accommodation.[276]

Figure 2.11. Cobblers shop
Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs

The physical care of the dependent trans-migrants in Scotland was also shaped by preconceptions about gender requirements and this prioritised the need to accommodate male youths. It was felt to be easier to place girls in domestic service, while adolescent males posed a real placement problem. Garnethill hostel was established to accommodate boys, while the girls were belatedly incorporated into a Quaker-run hostel nearby.[277] Whittingehame admitted a smaller percentage of girls than boys, accommodating the maximum of 40 girls out of the 200 places.[278]

Scottish philanthropy was also enveloped in a heritage of concern for helping the vulnerable child. Abrams's work shows how concepts of 'childhood' and 'family' have changed over time.[279] Ideas about childhood and children played an

[275] FWPC/Edna.
[276] *Jewish Echo*, 10 February 1939.
[277] FWPC/Rachel.
[278] *Jewish Echo*, 24 March 1939.
[279] See Abrams, *The Orphan Country*.

important role in directing policy. The concept of the vulnerable child and the importance of 'childhood' emerged within the middle classes in the nineteenth century.[280] Although Abrams argues that the notion of the child as vulnerable and the 'victim' had not yet be formally implemented into welfare services, concern for protecting children in need of care continued to develop through the 1930s. This situation especially progressed following the Morton Committee's formulation of Scotland's Children and Young Persons Act in 1932.[281] This extended the responsibility of welfare for helping such minors.

Scotland possessed a unique heritage of Calvinist theology, which pointed philanthropists towards particular concerns and strategies for protecting the vulnerable child. Combined with ideas of Environmentalism, these concepts encouraged stricter policing of the family and a practice of removing minors from unsuitable families and home environments. Protecting the vulnerable child took on a new level of importance during wartime, when they were perceived as future assets to the nation.[282] This led to a number of new protective schemes.[283]

British philanthropy's concern to protect the vulnerable child led to legislation designed to police levels of care. Mahood has shown how philanthropy was often a form of policing the family.[284] The 'child-saving-movement' intervened in private spheres of life and imposed a new form of regulation upon family life.[285] This led to the emergence of the inspector, who became responsible for visiting residential centres and home environments. Smith has argued that philanthropists' interest in controlling and inspecting the home grew in the 1930s, pushing the home to become the institution liable for regulation.[286] All Scottish residential facilities were also subject to a governing board and regular inspections.[287] The CC established inspectors to check on the children within foster homes under the auspices of the RCM. However, the impact of both systems was limited. Both

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[280] See Mause, *The History of Childhood,* 420; Cunningham, *Children and Childhood;* Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood.*
[281] Smith, 'Official Responses to Juvenile Delinquency', 80.
[282] Cunningham *Children and Childhood,* 172.
[283] Abrams*, The Orphan Country,* 62.
[284] Mahood, *Policing gender,* 8.
[285] *Ibid.*
[286] Smith, 'Responses to Juvenile Delinquency', 81.
[287] SJA:SOC0004, Fay Cohen Stein, Memoir, 5 January 1995.

lacked manpower and efficiency.[288] Mahood underlines that Scotland did suffer from a weaker and less developed system of inspection than England.[289] Abrams argues that this was the result of a long preference for short-term welfare options and boarding-out, rather than residential care solutions.[290] The CC also relied upon untrained, inexperienced volunteers.[291] Inspectors often questioned children in front of foster parents. Subsequently, Kindertransportees do express a varied care experience that lacked regulation. Despite these disparities with England and general weaknesses, Scotland's Kindertransportees were still afforded a degree of legality and a number of formal supervisory schemes.

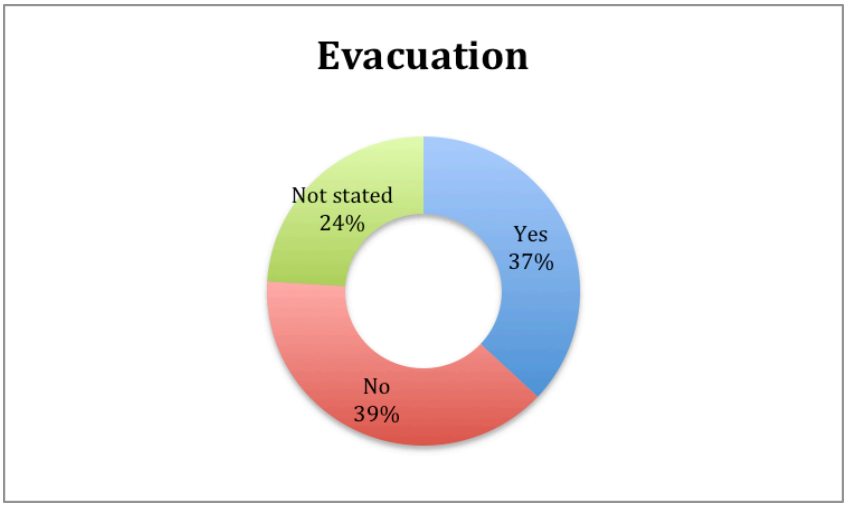

Figure 2.12. Evacuation of Kindertransportees

Source: KA:QU/SUP

The preoccupation with protecting the endangered and vulnerable child could not always ensure a happy home life, but it did promote a common care experience for Kindertransportees sheltered from the realities of war. This was by way of mass evacuation and the censorship of war news by adult supervisors. Tydor Baumel refers to the 'pied piper' migration of 1,473,000 evacuees on 31 August 1939.[292]

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[288] Harry Ferguson, 'Cleveland in History; The abused child and child protection, 1880-1914', in Cooter (ed.) *In the name of the child*, 148, 164.
[289] FWPC/Benson, Sarah.
[290] Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 3.
[291] HLSC/MS183/50/F2.
[292] Tydor Baumel, *Twice a Refugee,* 175.

Kindertransportees were incorporated into the mass evacuation schemes and shared similar experiences of billeting, relocation and makeshift reception centres as other Scottish children. Figure 2.12 shows the high proportion of Kindertransportees who were evacuated during the war.

Scotland's Jewish communities of Glasgow and Edinburgh orchestrated a number of coordinated evacuations to designated Jewish reception areas. The majority of Glaswegian Jews relocated to Ayrshire during evacuation. 27 Jewish evacuees relocated to Troon, 26 to Largs and Lockerbie, and 100 families and many Jewish servicemen to Ayr.[293] Kindertransportees were included in the Jewish migration to these areas and individual billets were organised. Warton, who was fostered by a cantor in Glasgow, was later evacuated to a billet in Ayr.[294] He recalls that 'it was like a summer resort, which had a very good high school'.[295]

The Kindertransportees were also incorporated into the large residential Jewish evacuation schemes established in Scotland during the war years. These aimed at protecting and sheltering the vulnerable child from war on the home front.[296] Castle Douglas hostel, Kirkcudbrightshire, and Birkenward hostel, Skelmorlie, accommodated up to 160 Kindertransportees. [297] Ruff was evacuated with the Jewish community to the Castle Douglas hostel, after being initially fostered by a Christian family in Glasgow.[298] The Gertrude Jacobson Orphanage and the Garnethill hostel were both evacuated to these centres. Bert was evacuated with the orphanage to Birkenward.[299] He recalls that the hostel was filled mainly with Austrian and German minors. Steinberg argues that these hostels became important hubs of Jewish activity in Scotland.[300] Jewish educational facilities were also relocated to evacuation areas and Kindertransportees were not excluded from these facilities.[301] Glasgow's *Talmud Torah*, along with its two teachers, relocated to Ayr.

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[293] Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 52.
[294] WHMA/USC:23855.
[295] *Ibid.*
[296] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education,' 58.
[297] Abrams, *The Orphan Country,* 53; Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 58.
[298] WL/BL/50.
[299] FWPC/Bert.
[300] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 58.
[301] Abrams, *Caledonian Jews,* 51.

Jewish education initially took place twice a week on Saturday and Sunday with 40 children, including six evacuees from Troon, in attendance.[302]

As a result of these efforts, the Kindertransportees' care in Scotland was heavily marked by a period of evacuation and an overarching care policy for their protection from the realities of war. As a result, Ruff believes he subsequently never heard 'a shot fired, neither a bomb dropped, never, nothing'.[303] Elsie recalls that being cloistered in Aberdeen meant that she remained unaware of the war and only received censored news deemed suitable by her supervisors, which was very little.[304] Debbie notes that her time at Polton House was uninterrupted by the events of war.[305] Nachtigall remained with his 'fresh-air' foster family in Disert due to the evacuation of children from Edinburgh and, as a result, remained sheltered from any experience of the war.[306]

Conclusion

The Kindertransportees' experiences of care in Scotland do not truly reflect Gertrude Black's derogatory impression of Scottish peoples' approach to looking after their children. Nonetheless, features that did emerge in their care during this period were the result of a large number of determining factors and not all of these were positive. There was a specific character infused into the welfare strategies for the Kindertransportees based upon their specific status and circumstance in Britain as unaccompanied trans-migrant minors. Subsequent care schemes sought to direct the Kindertransportees towards particular types of daily life and future life destinations felt appropriate for the trans-migrant minor. These included care to enable a discreet existence amongst Scottish people, a purposeful time in Britain, whereby they would prove to be of use to the host nation at war, and eventual onward migration from Britain when it was possible.

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[302] FWPC/Bert.
[303] WL/BL/50.
[304] FWPC/Elsie.
[305] FWPC/Debbie.
[306] WHMA/KC/RG-50.002*43.

The Kindertransportees were not only cared for within welfare facilities catering for trans-migrant minors, but were also submerged into the wider network of welfare and facilities for childcare that already existed in Scotland. This meant that the nature of their care was inevitably shaped and directed by the dominant social values that drove the agendas behind these schemes. Middle-class values emerge as the dominant group mentality dictating care initiatives during this period. These values sought to ameliorate specific social ills of the working classes. Welfare focused on tackling problems such as idleness, with its encouragement of long-term dependency on welfare, ignorance and an inability for self-help, and squalor and the progression of national degeneration. At the heart of these agendas was the intention to create a respectable working-class. Such persons would acquire respectable employment, preferably in the form of regular, skilled blue-collar work, and adhere to high moral standards and codes of behaviour, including female chastity.

The pre-existing welfare network in Scotland possessed a long heritage of care preferences, approaches and ideas. Care strategies were preoccupied with tackling the potentially dangerous juvenile. Schemes sought to control youth by way of collective management strategies. These infused a high degree of regimentation, routine and discipline into the daily lives of minors in residential facilities. However, despite the desire to police the juvenile, there were chronic weaknesses in the disciplinary approach towards the Kindertransportees. Alternative means to govern youth provided the most encompassing form of supervision for the Kindertransportees. Most notably, the youth group emerged as a governing force in the Kindertransportees' lives. British philanthropy's concern about the juvenile had also given rise to the pro-natalist movement, which sought to promote female domesticity and good mothering. Much of the Kindertransportees' care in Scotland adhered to these ideals and a gendered curriculum prescribed by pro-natalists.

Philanthropists were also concerned with the need to protect the vulnerable child and this impacted heavily upon the younger Kindertransportees. A legacy of Scottish welfare designed to protect children-in-care meant that a high level of inspection and regulation informed the management of welfare solutions. The realities of living in Scotland during the war also played a defining role in the nature of the Kindertransportees' care during the period. Fears for the vulnerable child

meant that most Kindertransportees experienced some form of evacuation. Relocated to reception areas, Kindertransportees had to adapt and make do with makeshift facilities. The war imposed limitations on British residents' lifestyles, redirecting resources for the war effort and applying restrictions on provisions available. These features marked the Kindertransportees' experience of schooling, education, supervision, accommodation and general level of care.

The Kindertransportees' care experience in Scotland was infused with a wide variety of ideas, preconception, agendas and realities. These were not all unique to a Scottish experience, but they were drawn from new, old and developing circumstances that uniquely surrounded the Kindertransportees in Scotland. Care experiences were incredibly varied in response to these specific circumstances and relevant issues. They are reflected upon by Kindertransportees in both positive and negative tones. The common experience that does emerge is that welfare solutions were not sympathetic to the foreign child, but instead encouraged integration and adaptation to their new Scottish surroundings by way of total immersion.

Chapter Three

An Epitaph for the Lost Generation: Religious care and the estrangement of the Kindertransportees from Judaism?

> [To be Jewish] … is it racial inheritance – or a self-chosen ethnic identity? Does it require synagogue affiliation, or does identifying with Maureen Lipman suffice?
>
> Is support for Israel relevant – and do financial contributions count? Is being Jewish constituted by our moral standards and ethical behaviour? Or is it to do with the food we eat – or choose not to eat? Is my Jewishness defined by whom I marry? Or if I marry?
>
> Is it connected to belief in God? Or following the *halachah* (Jewish law)? Or reading the *Jewish Chronicle*? Or is it a sick feeling in the stomach when you hear the word 'yid' on the tongue of a stranger? … What constitutes our Jewish identity is, in the end, a very personal response we formulate for ourselves … determined by experiences.[1]

The Chief Rabbi's Religious Emergency Council (CREC), directed by Rabbi Solomon Schonfeld, sought to provide a proactive Orthodox Jewish force aimed at preventing the widespread estrangement of Jewish refugee youth from Judaism in Britain. In 1944, the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations (Adath) published Schonfeld's report, entitled 'The Child-Estranging Movement'.[2] The report was an exposé of the 'alienation of Jewish refugee children in Great Britain from Judaism' and intended to 'defend the religious rights of Jewry's orphans'.[3] The major contention was that the non-denominational RCM, officially responsible for Kindertransportees' care in Britain, was failing to prevent Jewish Kindertransportees being placed within both non-Orthodox and non-Jewish care environments.

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[1] Howard Cooper and Paul Morrison, *A Sense of Belonging; Dilemmas of British Jewish Identity* (London, 1991) 51.

[2] HLSC/MS183/344/10, '"The Child Estrangement Movement"; An Expose on the alienation of Jewish Refugee Children in GB from Judaism', Pamphlet, January. 1944.

[3] *Ibid.*

Schonfeld claimed that the RCM had adopted a *laissez-faire* policy in relation to the religious life of the Kindertransportees and was forcing them into non-Jewish homes and lifestyles, which inevitably led to their estrangement from Judaism.

The RCM claimed that it had adopted a non-denominational approach to all care placements, but did still wish to maintain a Jewish upbringing for Jewish children when it was possible, particularly for Orthodox children.[4] The RCM prioritised saving children by placing them in every available home, rather than restricting numbers on account of Jewish authenticity.[5] Turner describes the RCM's approach as 'broadminded', but notes that this meant members remained in constant conflict with the Orthodox community, CREC and Adath.[6] There are many different interpretations of the RCM's placement policy. It seems best described as a policy that was pragmatic and strategic in character, and which was realistic in the restricted circumstances.

The battle that ensued during the war years regarding the RCM's placement policy has been continued in latter-day discussions about the success or not of the entire Kindertransport scheme. The main bone of contention remains the perception that the lax placement protocol of the RCM did not protect the Kindertransportees' Jewish heritage. Critics argue that this alienated a large number of Kindertransportees from Judaism.[7] These current debates have perpetuated the notion that non-exclusive Jewish care of Kindertransportees inevitably exposed them to proselytising and mass conversion. In 2003, Handler stated he believed that 'out of the 10,000 Kindertransport people a maximum of 3000 or 4000 remained in the Jewish fold'.[8] In 1999, during the 60th anniversary of the Kindertransport, Bertha Leverton offered an epitaph to the lost Kindertransportees: 'I realised that, like myself, many had been sent to non-Jewish homes and got sadly lost to our faith and tradition. Only the arrival of our parents saved us from that same fate.'[9]

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[4] HLSC/MS183/384/F2, Report of CC, 'Religious Teaching of Refugee Children'; see also HLSC/MS183/53/2.
[5] HLSC/MS183/290/F1.
[6] Turner, ... *And the Policeman smiled,* 235.
[7] FWPC/Sarah, Edna.
[8] WL/BL/25, Arieh Handler.
[9] Bertha Leverton, in *ROK,* 4.

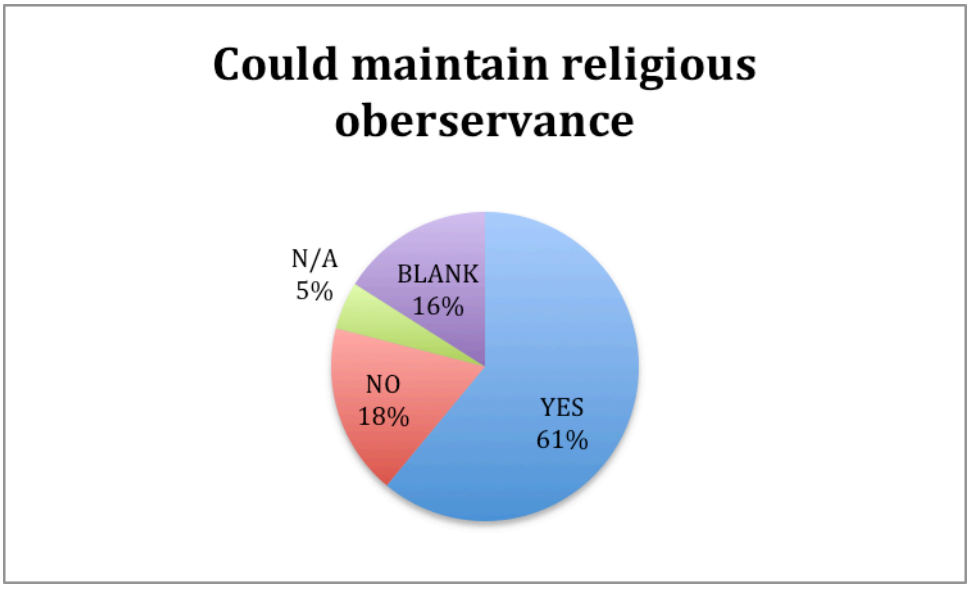

Figure 3.1. Kindertransportees' ability to maintain religious observance.
Source: KA:QU/SUP

Such perceptions neglect the broader picture and can pander to naïve assumptions, such as that the Kindertransportees had initially been attached to Judaism. It also assumes that all Kindertransportees' felt that piety to religious traditions was important, or that they even wanted to maintain a high degree of religious observance. Figure 3.1 shows that 61% of Scotland's Kindertransportees' felt that they were able to maintain the correct level of religious observance whilst in care. This statistic should not be assumed to suggest that the correct level of care meant a strictly observant, Orthodox Jewish lifestyle. It could also mean that the Kindertransportees experienced a suitable absence of piety. The prevalence of such presumption has encouraged an unhelpful narrative within Kindertransport literature. This narrative groups the Kindertransportees into a monolithic Jewish type, who were firmly within the Jewish fold before migration. It also ignores a wide spectrum of other, often more important, influences on the Kindertransportees' religious lives. These influences both pushed and pulled upon their Jewish affiliation.

I wish to challenge the view that the Kindertransport episode was marked by the loss of a large number of Jewish youth from Judaism because of their placement in non-Jewish care homes and subsequent conversion to Christianity. I will show that Kindertransportees' affiliation with Judaism could not be controlled by a black-

or-white decision of Jewish or non-Jewish care. A significant number of Kindertransportees did become estranged from Judaism, but this was not exclusive to non-Jewish care. During this period, all Kindertransportees in their new environments underwent a transition in their Jewish life and religious piety.

This chapter will evaluate the contributing factors to this transition in relation to three areas of consideration. The first section of the chapter will show that the Kindertransportees were already undergoing a major shift in their lifestyle before they migrated from Greater Germany. Between 1938 and 1939, 9,354 minors were brought over by the RCM and 7,482 of these were deemed to be 'Jewish'. Many of these Jewish children came from non-practising, secular homes and were already estranged from Judaism. For such Kindertransportees, the policies of the CREC were not appropriate. Furthermore, the pressures of the anti-Semitic activities in the Third Reich had impressed a new social significance on being Jewish. For some, it had enforced a greater role for their Jewish connection, as they developed closer ties with an inward-looking Jewish community. Alternatively, for some, their families had sought to support their non-Jewish preferences and they established stronger links with other denominations.

The second and third sections of this chapter will show that the post-migration religious experiences of the Kindertransportees developed these earlier transitions. It will be argued that no tidy Jewish/non-Jewish care narrative can explain the Kindertransportees' attachment, or not, to Judaism. Non-Jewish care experiences of the Kindertransportees will be considered first, in order to show how these impacted upon their relationship with Judaism. Quakers, Presbyterians, Catholics and even Buddhists had an influence on Kindertransportees' lives in Scotland. Efforts to convert the Kindertransportees did occur. Non-Jewish care could also pose a problem by exposing Kindertransportees to anti-Semitism, promoting ignorance about their traditions as Jews and alienating them from other Jews. Nevertheless, it will also be shown that non-Jewish care could nurture Kindertransportees' Jewish heritage and strengthen their connection to Judaism and piety. In non-Jewish care, Kindertransportees could be sent regularly to attend their local synagogue or its *Cheder* classes. Presbyterian ministers could also support an Old Testament and Hebrew education.

The Jewish care provisions for the Kindertransportees will next be evaluated, in order to demonstrate that there existed a dichotomy between a secular Jewish lifestyle and Jewish piety and that Kindertransportees did not necessarily affiliate with both aspects of being Jewish. Jewish care did not guarantee the Kindertransportees' Jewish piety or a close relationship with a Jewish lifestyle. The Kindertransportees arrived from many different religious backgrounds and were cared for within Scotland's Jewish communities, which were also religiously diverse. Scotland's Jewry adhered to a different religious tradition and theology to Jews from Greater Germany. The Kindertransportees had to adapt to this alien Jewish environment and thus were immediately required to renegotiate their relationship with Judaism. The approach adopted by Jewish care could estrange many Kindertransportees from Judaism. This was because the alien Scottish Jewish communities forced Kindertransportees to adapt to a new Jewish lifestyle, Jewish homes did not always cater for a Jewish life, and non-Jewish influences were also active within Jewish care environments. In this new environment, Kindertransportees' relationship with Judaism on a daily basis was transformed.

Finally, I will argue the importance of secular Jewish pursuits in the Kindertransportees' daily lives. Kindertransportees might not have engaged with Jewish piety, yet remained affiliated with a Jewish recreational lifestyle. Such Kindertransportees are sometimes presumed to be lost to Judaism. However, they continue to assert their Jewishness. Study at a *Yeshiva* and pious ritual observances were difficult to encourage without traditional family structures. Youth groups and fashionable extra-curricula activities captured many Kindertransportees' attention and offered an alternative link to Judaism. This affirmed the social and cultural aspects of being Jewish, yet could exclude piety. This could enable Kindertransportees to become unaccustomed to Judaism's traditions, whilst remaining in the 'Jewish fold'. This feature is perhaps best elucidated by the Kindertransportee who describes him/her self as an 'Atheist Jew' or 'Agnostic Jew'.

In this respect, it will be shown that Jewish recreation should be given more attention in current debates about the Jewish provisions for the Kindertransportees in Britain. As the Association of the Child-Estranging Movement once did, current critics place too much emphasis on the pious provisions made available to

Kindertransportees, of which they were often unfamiliar. The benchmark of Jewish care has been too closely wrapped in an Orthodox interpretation of Jewish life. The youth groups were sometimes anti-religious or non-denominational and could make spiritual faith and observance irrelevant to the meaning of being Jewish. Recreational pursuits were a vibrant form of social and cultural engagement with Judaism and for some Kindertransportees became the most important source of Jewish care.

The arguments in this chapter will examine the dichotomy between the meaning of being Jewish and being connected to Judaism. It will be shown that these were two different aspects of the Kindertransportees' Jewish lives in Scotland. The former refers to the social, cultural or political connotations of being Jewish, while the latter relates to religious piety, spiritual faith and ritual observance. Thus it will be shown that the Jewish experience of Kindertransportees during the war years was much more complex than has previously been suggested. Conversion was a problem in Scotland, but there was no linear flood of Jewish youth abandoning Judaism for Christianity. Instead, various factors influenced youth to rethink their relationship with Judaism and the Jewish people. The religious experience of Kindertransportees in Britain has been narrated too closely to historiographies concerned with fears for Jewish survival post-Holocaust.[10] What has been overlooked is the migration of many Kindertransportees away from Judaism towards a more secular Jewish lifestyle.

Changes to Jewish life in Greater Germany

Prior to migration, the Kindertransportees' Jewish lives were already in transition and many had experienced upbringings in families that were already estranged from Judaism. Jews from Greater Germany reflected a kaleidoscope of different types of affiliation to Judaism. Figure 3.2. shows that there was a wide spectrum of Jewish types, as well as non-Jews, amongst the Kindertransport group. Many of these religious preferences and affiliations contradicted the Orthodox basis of the CREC's arguments for Kindertransportee religious care. The findings suggest that the

[10] See Bermant, *Troubled Eden.*

majority of Scotland's Kindertransportees were not Orthodox; instead, their affiliations were 32% Liberal, 3% Traditional, 1% Reform, 2% Conservative and 23% who state that they were Jewish but with no particular association.[11] In comparison, only 29% state that they were Orthodox. In addition, as Flora Hogman has noted, not all Kindertransportees considered themselves to be Jewish.[12] Figure 3.3. shows that only 91% believe that they were Jewish on arrival; 3% note that they were non-Jewish on arrival, while a further 4% had no religious faith.[13] Fay Cohen Stein, daughter of the Governor of Whittingehame Farm School, recalled that many of the Jewish Kindertransportees lacked any kind of religious observance.[14]

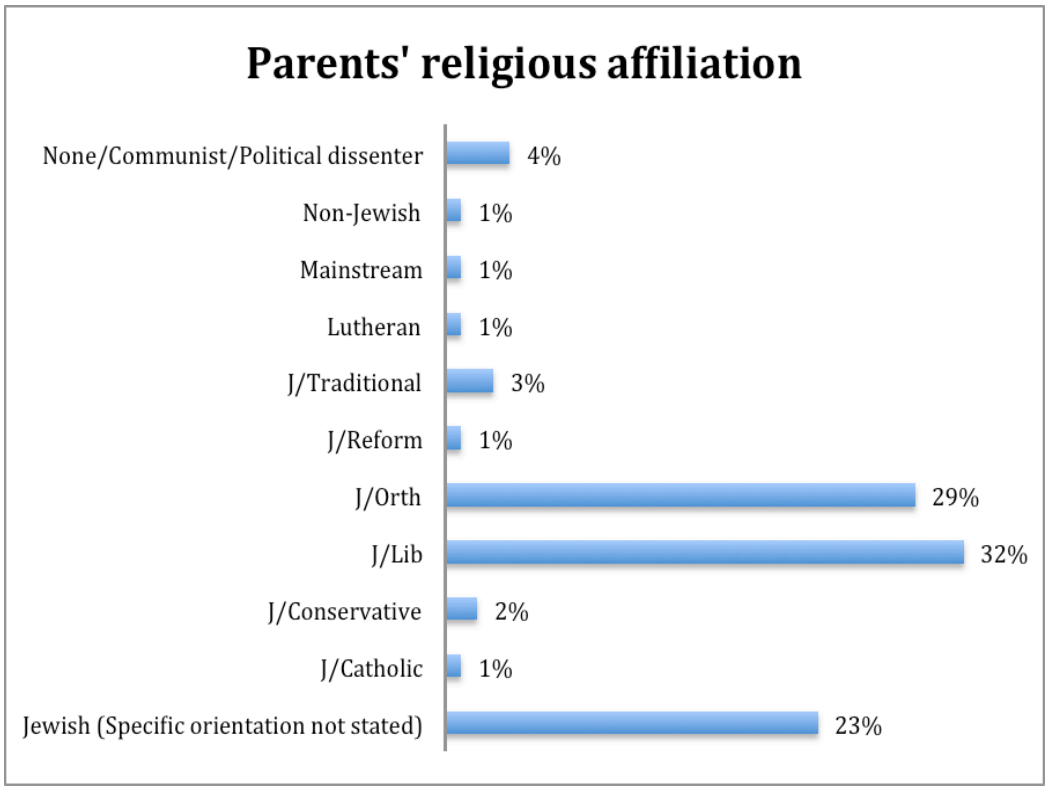

Figure 3.2. Parents' religious affliation

Source: KA:QU/SUP

[11] KA:QU/SUP.
[12] Flora Hogman, 'The experience of Catholicism for Jewish minors during World War II', *Psychoanalytic Review* (1963), 75:4 (Winter, 1988) 512.
[13] KA:QU/SUP.
[14] *Jewish Echo*, 24 March 1939.

These findings reflect a correlation with wider trends amongst Jews in Greater Germany. There had been great concern for the popularity amongst German Jews for a secular, non-spiritual lifestyle. David Brenner has shown that German-Jewish publications, such as *Ost und West,* sought to ameliorate German Jewry's estrangement from Judaism and promote *Ostjuden* pious and non-secular traditions.[15] The term *Trotzjudentum* was even applied by the Nazis to the prevalence of secular, non-practising, assimilated Jews in Germany.[16] Emil Fackenheim termed such German Jews as '*Konfessionlose* Jews'.[17] Peter Gay has argued that Jews in Germany 'felt as Germans' rather than Jews.[18] Many Kindertransportees' religious lifestyles reflected these developments within the Jewish communities of Greater Germany. Ruth states that 'I really did not have a tradition … we didn't practise anything'.[19] Fry recalls that despite his parents' Jewish origins, neither were practising Jews and his mother had actually been baptised at birth.[20] Jacob states of his family background: 'we were not religious.'[21] Benson remembers his Czechoslovakian family as not at all religious, but 'totally secular'.[22] Living a secular lifestyle, Abaigael's family did not observe the Sabbath and worked on Saturdays.[23] At the point of departure from Greater Germany, many Kindertransportees already reflected a greater attachment to a secular lifestyle.

The Kindertransportees had not only been part of a changing Jewish community, but also personally underwent transitions in their Jewish life and their understanding of being Jewish. For a significant number of Kindertransportees, their Jewish identity was newly acquired, an unexpected result of classification by the Third Reich. Many had had no previous connection with Judaism or a Jewish community. Elsie remembers the shock she experienced when she discovered that she was Jewish and was subsequently ostracised from her school and friends.[24]

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[15] Brenner, 'Promoting East European Jewry', 63.
[16] *Ibid.* 67.
[17] Fackenheim, *Epitaph for German Judiasm,* 12.
[18] Gay, *Freud, Jews and other Germans,* 29.
[19] FWPC/Ruth.
[20] WHMA/USC:31378.
[21] FWPC/Jacob.
[22] FWPC/Benson.
[23] FWPC/Abaigael.
[24] FWPC/Elsie.

Other Kindertransportees knew they were Jewish, but this had played no role in their lives before the Third Reich emerged. Josephina recalls: 'I knew I was Jewish but it was not important, it was nothing, until Hitler came.'[25]

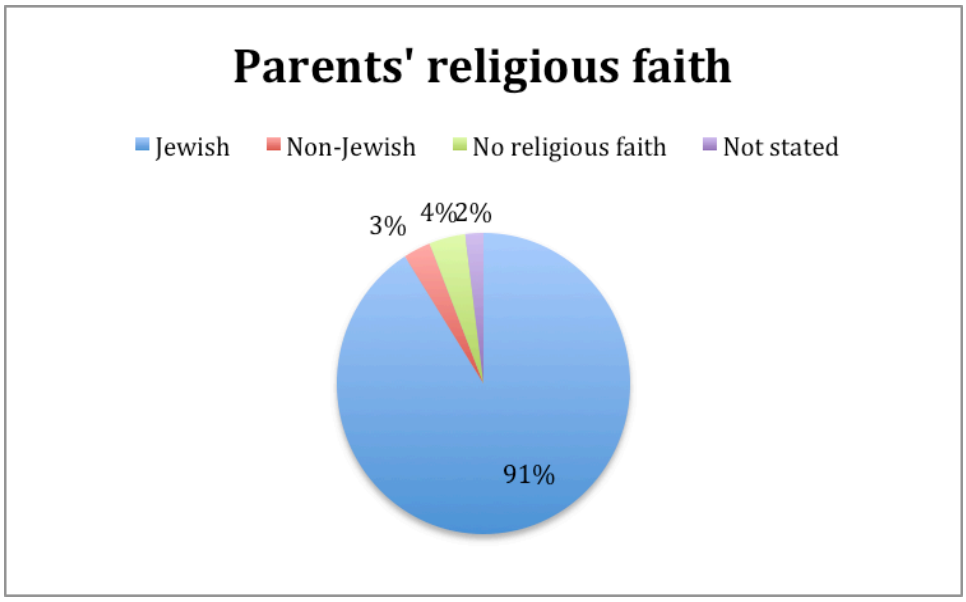

Figure 3.3. Parents' religious faith

Source: KA:QU/SUP

The pressures of Nazism forced Kindertransportees to readjust to a new relationship with Judaism and the meaning of being Jewish. To be a Jew increasingly defined who they were, where they could go and how they could get there. For some this meant that they established closer links with their local Jewish community and religious faith. Lisa Pine has shown how 'Nazi family policy' often led to a Jewish community revival and the rediscovery for Germans of their Jewish identity.[26] Dena believes that fellow Kindertransportees, from 'quite assimilated houses, … all of a sudden became religious' because of Hitler's new laws.[27]

Anti-Semitic prohibitive legislation ostracised Kindertransportees from non-Jewish communities and enforced sectarianism.[28] The most immediate aspect of this

[25] FWPC/Josephina.
[26] Lisa Pine, *Nazi family policy, 1933-1945* (Oxford, 1997) 155.
[27] FWPC/Dena.
[28] See Nicholas Stargardt, *Witnesses of War: Children's Lives under the Nazis* (London, 2005) 12.

process was their ejection from non-denominational schools. For some, this meant that they had to attend Jewish schools for the first time. Grenville recalls his shock when he moved to a Jewish school after *Kristallnacht*.[29] Josephina was forced to leave her Gymnasium and attend the very religious local Jewish Hadassah School.[30] The impact of moving to a vastly more pious environment led Josephina to reject Judaism altogether as a child. Rachel was sent to a Jewish school after being thrown out of her previous school.[31] She found the new Jewish environment difficult to adjust to. In 1937, Warton also had to move to a Jewish school for the first time at the age of 12.[32] The school was held in the local Temple. Attendance of Jewish schools led to daily contact with a Jewish community and an increased awareness of being Jewish.

In addition to schooling, Kindertransportees remember that Jewish life had become increasingly limited and restricted to a sectarian existence. Marion Kaplan argues that this made the communities more inward looking and self-sufficient.[33] Nicholas Stargardt has argued that there was an ever-deepening divide between 'gentiles' and Jews in Germany during the 1930s.[34] Kaplan has shown how this situation encouraged the Jewish community to close ranks in order to insulate its members from persecution.[35] Isabel recalls that secular 'life really stopped for a Jewish child, there was nothing'.[36] Jewish children lost contact with non-Jewish friends and chose increasingly to stick together in public for protection. George Joseph remembers a violent attack inflicted on the Jewish children of his school by their Christian classmates after the whole school was made into a Jewish school.[37] Warton recalls that, after being 'closed off from fraternising with German people, … we stuck with our own people as far as Jewish friends were concerned … we had our

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[29] WL/BL/150.
[30] FWPC/Josephina.
[31] FWPC/Rachel.
[32] WHMA/USC:23855.
[33] Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair; Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 1998) 51.
[34] Stargardt, *Witnesses of War,* 12.
[35] Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair,* 51.
[36] FWPC/Isabel.
[37] LB/YIVO/AHC:3168.

own plays and activities'.[38] After 1933, he had minimal contact with non-Jewish children except neighbours.

For some Kindertransportees, the meaning of being Jewish had become fraught with negative connotations, developing into a byword for fear and persecution. As a result of *Kristallnacht* and other violent incidents, Kindertransportees became acutely aware of what it meant to be Jewish. Warton recalls that 'it was not uncommon to have stones thrown at you'.[39] Ruth Jackson continued to associate being Jewish with social restrictions after she migrated to Britain and was fearful when her new teacher took her to the local cinema.[40] This either encouraged minors to develop a clannish attachment to fellow Jews or to avoid being associated with the community for fear of reprisals. Rachel recalls that as a child, 'I didn't really have non-Jewish friends … I learnt early on that we were not wanted'.[41] Ruth desired to avoid contact with her Jewish heritage due to this fear of persecution.[42] Ugolini has shown similar tendencies amongst Italian immigrants' children.[43] She argues that minors experienced prejudice and bullying due to their Italian 'otherness' and many subsequently wished to dissociate themselves from their foreign status as 'Italians'.[44]

To be a Jew had become definitive of one's social life and Kindertransportees had already begun to integrate into the alternative attractions of Jewish life. Prohibitive social legislation, combined with the desire of Jewish youth for extra-curricula past-times, meant that Jewish youth groups had already become enormously important in Kindertransportees' daily lives. Reicha Freier's Youth Aliyah, as well as Habonim, Bachad, Hashomer Hatzair and other Zionist youth groups, emerged as important sources of socialisation for Jewish minors.[45] These movements encouraged the social, cultural and political aspects of Jewish life more than (with the exception of Bachad) piety. Zionist groups also advocated the

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[38] WHMA/USC:23855.
[39] WHMA/USC:23855.
[40] WL/BL/69.
[41] FWPC/Rachel.
[42] FWPC/Ruth.
[43] Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy 'OTHER'', 156.
[44] *Ibid*.
[45] FWPC/Levi, Edna; see also Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*.

political and national significance of being 'Jewish'.[46] This particularly affected those who had lost their citizenship and become stateless. To be Jewish became the opposite of being German or a *Goyim* (non-Jew). Ruth Barnett has reflected that on becoming a non-German, the national associations of being Jewish became important.[47] Levi believes that this adjustment was easier for Eastern European Jews who had maintained a more sectarian national lifestyle.[48]

As Jewish communities were affected by prohibitive legislation, observant Kindertransportees experienced a change in their religious lifestyles. Many had already had to adapt to new approaches to, and levels of, piety. Warton felt that, after *Kristallnacht,* Jewish life was completely transformed.[49] With centres of worship destroyed and large group meetings prohibited, Jewish families were confined to their homes or smaller 'underground' centres for ritual observance.[50] Increasingly restrictive legislation put pressure on Jewish communities to find alternative means to maintain day-to-day observances. *Kashrut* (Jewish dietary laws) became increasingly difficult. Prohibitions on the slaughtering of kosher food meant that fewer families could find suitable supplies. Isabel's family could no longer observe *Kashrut* after ritual slaughtering was prohibited and supplies from Frankfurt were found always to be off.[51] The desire of co-religionists to leave Greater Germany also meant that communities shrank daily and readjustments in services and provisions had to be continually renegotiated. Warton recalls that in Konnigsberg two congregations had shrunk so dramatically that they were united into one on 8 November 1938.[52] Jan remembers that her Jewish community and life 'was gone overnight'.[53] Ariel's family was forced to relocate with no notice after Storm Troopers evicted them from their home.[54]

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[46] See Michael Berkowitz, *Zionism Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War* (Cambridge, 1993); HWZOA, *Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organisation of America; Hadassah and Youth Aliyah* (unknown place, 1935).
[47] EGPC/Barnett, *By the Rivers of Babylon,* 5.
[48] FWPC/Levi.
[49] WHMA/USC:23855.
[50] See Kaplan, *Between dignity and despair*.
[51] FWPC/Isabel.
[52] WHMA/USC:23855.
[53] FWPC/Jan.
[54] FWPC/Ariel.

These changes also meant that some Kindertransportees had begun to migrate towards other denominations. This might have been due to the anti-Semitic legislation of the Third Reich and their forced exclusion from secular social engagements. The result of being forced out of non-denominational schools meant that some Kindertransportees were sent to Catholic schools and developed a greater affinity with Catholicism before migration. Elsie's parents baptised her and sent her to a Catholic school.[55] It was through this placement and the Catholic connections her family developed that Elsie was able to join the Kindertransport to Britain. Ruth's family also chose to send her to a Catholic school.[56] She recalls that growing up in a small Catholic village meant that she never felt any difference from Catholics. Martha Bauer was sent to a Catholic school despite her family remaining Jewish.[57] Fry's parents chose to send him to a Catholic school because they believed it was a friendlier and safer schooling environment.[58] Hogman's research explores the phenomenon of Jewish children being placed in convents, monasteries and Catholic homes for safety across Europe.[59] She shows that these strategies would have created a new religious lifestyle for the Kindertransportees before migration.[60] Such Kindertransportees were already exposed to new rituals and beliefs and had already developed a religious normality in life that did not include Jewish observance.

Furthermore, not all of the Kindertransportees' parents wished for their children to be placed in Jewish care homes. Elsie recalls that her parents did not want to send her to a Jewish school because she 'knew nothing about Judaism'.[61] They felt that she would feel estranged from that environment compared to the Catholic convent. Elsie's aunt was a Catholic and she encouraged her parents to begin her Catholic life with a baptism in Vienna. Elsie had always questioned whether these were truly the wishes of her parents, yet she discovered that when her parents were deported they chose to remain within the Catholic group. Elsie, who

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[55] FWPC/Elsie.
[56] FWPC/Ruth.
[57] WHMA/SC:1349-36.
[58] WHMA/USC:31378.
[59] Hogman, 'The Experience of Catholicism', 511.
[60] *Ibid.* 513.
[61] FWPC/Elsie.

was sent to the Catholic Convent of the Sacred Heart, came from a Jewish background that observed Christian rituals:

> We believed in Chris Kindle (Father Christmas), the Christ child who bought presents at Christmas time … believed in Wusterhausen, the Easter Bunny who brought eggs and presents. We believed in Saint Nicholas who came 25 December and brought presents.[62]

All of these were adhered to with limited religious association. Nevertheless, Elsie had 'no Jewish connections at all' before leaving her parents.[63]

Before the Kindertransportees had migrated to Britain, they had already begun a transition in their connection to Judaism. This was due to Jewish reforming movements in Greater Germany, immediate social pressures under the Third Reich and parental wishes for their religious upbringing. These sometimes led the Kindertransportees into a closer relationship with their Jewish co-religionists, while others became more estranged from Judaism and the Jewish people. Fundamentally, it is not clear that Adath's Jewish care ambitions were suitable or appropriate for all the 'Jewish' Kindertransportees on their arrival in Scotland.

Non-Jewish care

The central concerns of Adath and CREC for the Kindertransportees were that they were placed within a Jewish, preferably Orthodox, care environment, in close proximity to a local Jewish community and receiving Jewish education. It was believed that these provisions would protect Jewish youth from proselytising efforts and would maintain their connection to Judaism. Nevertheless, not all Kindertransportees in Scotland had access to these three requirements.

Despite clashing with CREC and Adath, the RCM continued to utilise non-Jewish care environments for Kindertransportees across Britain. This was because of the insufficient numbers of Jewish homes. Schonfeld initiated a decree, requesting rabbis across the country to 'influence members of their respective communities to

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[62] FWPC/Elsie.
[63] *Ibid.*

take over immediately as many refugee children as possible, in order to prevent such [Jewish] children from being placed in non-Jewish homes'.[64] Despite these efforts, in 1944, Presland (who worked for the RCM) wrote about the lack of Orthodox Jewish homes for the number of Orthodox parents applying in Germany and the subsequent necessity of utilising non-Orthodox and Christian homes.[65] Figure 3.4. indicates the ratio of non-Jewish to Jewish foster homes allocated to Kindertransportees in Scotland. This shows that in Scotland the majority of Kindertransportees placed in foster homes were kept within Jewish households. Nevertheless, 25% were required to be allocated to non-Jewish foster homes. It is interesting to note that in England, the proportion of Kindertransportees sent to non-Jewish homes was over twice as high (57%) as it was in Scotland (25%).

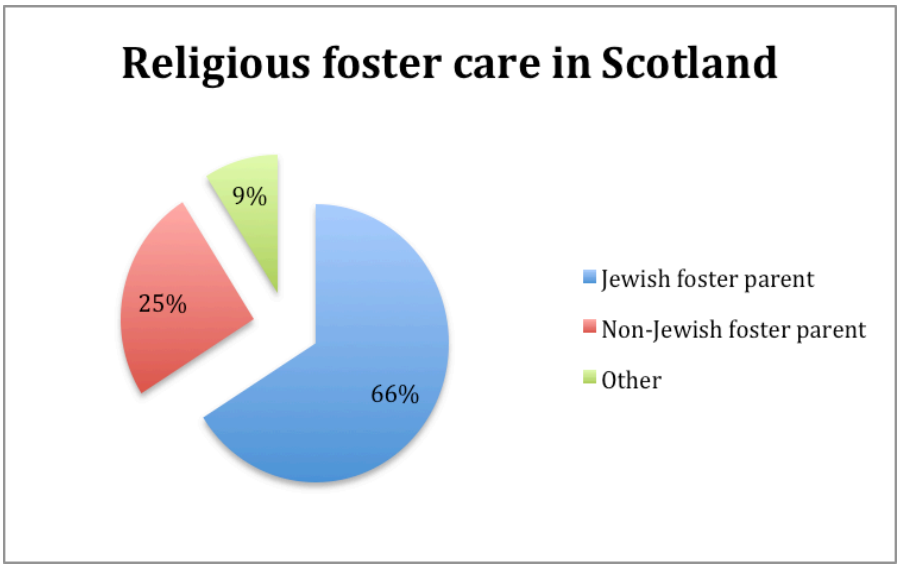

Figure 3.4. Level of religious foster care in Scotland

Source: KA:QU/SUP

[64] HLSC/MS183/53/2.
[65] Presland, 'A Great Adventure', in *ROK,* 21.

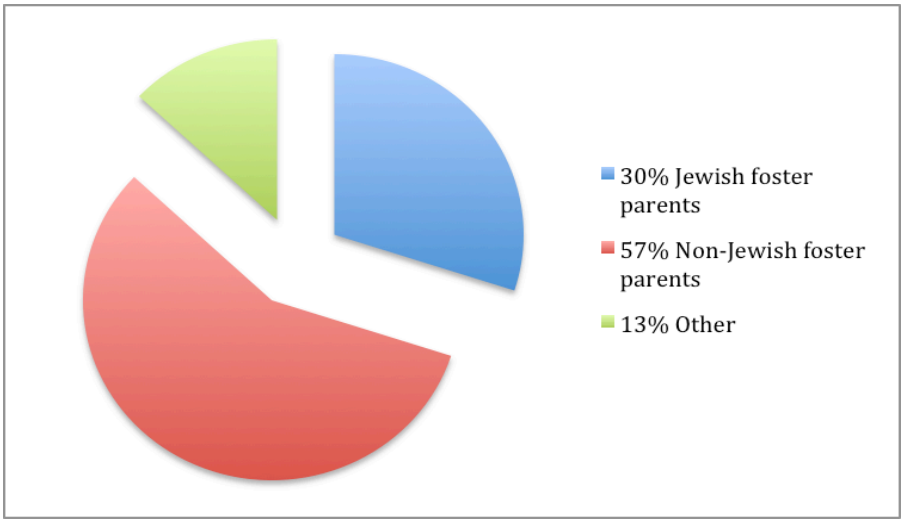

Figure 3.5. Level of Jewish foster care in England

Source: KA:QU/SUP

To tackle these shortfalls, the RCM sought to identify Orthodox children and prioritise Jewish care for them; non-Orthodox Kindertransportees would be readily sent to non-Jewish care homes. Presland recalls that in the reception camps 'the children were divided into Orthodox Jewish children, who needed special food and arrangements, and non-Orthodox and Christian'.[66] The problem with this policy was that many Kindertransportees could not certify exactly what affiliation their parents preferred. Eva Michaelis Stern, who worked with the RCM and Youth Aliyah, recalls the Kindertransportees' confusion when asked to clarify their religious orientation.[67] When asking one child 'whether he would like to live in an Orthodox group', he answered that he wanted to paint. Another child could not offer any information about what her family would do on a Friday night.[68] As a consequence, Orthodox Kindertransportees were also at times sent to non-Jewish care environments.

Non-Jewish care environments could pose a problem for Jewish Kindertransportees' connection to Judaism, especially when proselytising activities were present. Turner has argued that in Britain 'the conversion rate to Christianity

[66] *Ibid*. 23.
[67] Eva Michaelis Stern, *Children in the Searchlight* (Jerusalem, 1946) 2.
[68] *Ibid*.

was well into double figures'.[69] However, new data does not suggest that the problem was quite so severe, but it was an issue. An estimated 4% of Scotland's Kindertransportees converted to Christian denominations, including the Anglican Church, the Church of Scotland, Roman Catholicism and the Episcopalian church.[70] This figure is still below the average 10% rate of conversion amongst Germany's Jews between 1800 and 1933.[71]

Nevertheless, Scotland did possess missionary organisations and persons who sought to convert the Kindertransportees. Smout argues that Scottish philanthropists never ceased to be Orthodox Calvinist or Presbyterian.[72] Elisabeth Imber has also argued that Scotland possessed a deep heritage of evangelical schemes, which traditionally targeted the new Jewish immigrants by way of providing welfare support.[73] She argues that although by 1940 the focus of missionary activity had shifted towards camaraderie and a support of Zionism, these trends were still 'bound to notions about spreading the Christian Gospel'.[74] In 1941, Reverent David McDougall wrote a 'Chronicle of the Jewish Mission of the Church of Scotland', which pointed to the less overt proselytising processes active in Scotland.[75] He stated that its purpose 'for the Evangelisation of the Jewish people of Scotland' would encourage the gradual conversion of Scottish Jewry to Christianity by way of communal integration.[76] McDougall was involved in the establishment of the Scottish Christian Council for Refugees (SCC), which would later work with the Scottish National Council (SNC) in order to help aid the Kindertransportees in Scotland. The SCC represented all the churches of Scotland, including the Catholic Church. Linked to this was the 'Church of Scotland's Jewish Mission Committee' in Edinburgh. Reverend George Knight oversaw the committee's activities and

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[69] Turner, ... *And the Policeman smiled,* 241.
[70] KA:QU/SUP.
[71] Gordon, *Hitler, Germans and the 'Jewish Question',* 16.
[72] Smout, *Punishment and welfare*, 153; See also Mahood*, Policing gender,* 30.
[73] Elisabeth Imber, 'Saving Jews: The History of Jewish-Christian relations in Scotland – 1880-1948', unpublished MA thesis (Brandeis University, 2011) 64.
[74] *Ibid*. 84.
[75] See David McDougall, *In Search of Israel; A Chronicle of the Jewish Mission of the Church of Scotland* (New York, 1941).
[76] *Ibid*.

produced a booklet 'For Christians only – About the Jew'.[77] As Lewis Cameron has argued, the purpose of these publications was to aid the integration of Jews into the Christian community 'through intimate contact with the local church and school'.[78] This process, it was thought, would nurture a 'Christian character' amongst Jews and form strong bonds between the communities.[79] Kindertransportees, such as Rachel, predominantly remember experiencing these integrationist and less dogmatic approaches to conversion.[80]

Under the auspices of the RCM, the SNC was the leading regional organisation supervising Kindertransportees' care in Scotland and was seen as a potential source of proselytising. In 1944, Schonfeld reported his fears to CREC:

> The Scottish Council has taken over from The Movement of the Care of Jewish Refugee Children (RCM). The Movement has taken no drastic action against conversionist activities among refugee children within the Scottish Council.[81]

Schonfeld was particularly concerned that there was a serious lack of 'Jewish oversee' in Scotland.[82] He believed that exposure 'to conversionist intentions' would threaten the Kindertransportees' ability to 'uphold their Jewish traditions and customs'.[83] It is not clear if Schonfeld was justified in his concerns.[84]

The CREC believed that Christian foster homes posed the greatest risk.[85] This was because foster homes could potentially isolate the children from any Jewish environment. They could also influence and coerce Kindertransportees to participate

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[77] NYL/George Knight, *'For Christians Only – About Jews'* (Edinburgh 1939-1945); See also James Wells, *United Free Church of Scotland; Our Jewish Mission* (Scotland, 1905).
[78] Lewis Cameron, *The Challenge of Need: A History of Social Service by The Church of Scotland 1869-1969* (Edinburgh, 1971) 41.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] FWPC/Rachel.
[81] HLSC/MS183/344/10, Schonfeld (1944) 5.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] HLSC/MS183/223/F1, Schonfeld, report of 'The Jewish Relief Association'.
[84] Unfortunately, the archives for the Scottish National Council, which may clarify this point, remain unfit for viewing and can therefore not be accessed. (HLSC/MS183/481/2).
[85] HLSC/MS183/344/10.

in Christian rituals. Steinberg argues that in 1941 Jewish evacuees were found to be under direct proselytising influences in foster homes.[86] This was viewed as mainly due to foster parents who claimed the price of conversion in return for their 'generous hospitality'.[87] The limited resources of the Jewish organisations meant that supervision of these care placements was limited and little was done. Tydor Baumel has argued that the failure to prevent conversions amongst evacuees was largely due to the delayed overtures made in 1941 by the CREC.[88] She argues that by this time they had lost contact with many of the children, while others were already alienated.

Kindertransportees could feel pressurised to submit to Christianity because of dependency, gratitude, or even a desire to fit in and join in. Sunday church attendance was often a regular family ritual and community event. Kindertransportees might not have wanted to miss out on this event. Christmas and other Christian festivals were also attractive to Kindertransportees. Marthe recalls that after her foster parents moved to Collington, she swiftly made friends and became a member of the Church of Scotland.[89] She went to Brownies and Girl Guides, and was drawn into the local Christian community, despite never being forced to attend church. Nachtigall's foster family never attempted to convert him, but he chose to accompany them to church every Sunday and ingratiate himself with the local Christian community.[90] Nachtigall's foster mother, May Salmond, recalls his overwhelming joy on Christmas Day, when his foster family and friends in the community gave him many gifts:

> I can still see your face on Christmas morning, you not knowing anything about Christmas, I think all of Dysart gave you a present.[91]

Conversion could also be dogmatically advocated and difficult to avoid. Black, an adult trans-migrant, remembers that in Glasgow she befriended a non-Jew

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[86] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 37.
[87] *Ibid.* 53.
[88] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee', 180.
[89] FWPC/Marthe.
[90] WHMA/KC/RG-50.002*43.
[91] *Ibid*. Letter by May Salmond, 8 February 1989.

who would invite her to his house and then preach to her that she must convert.[92] On meeting a fellow Jew who had converted, Black was told, should she convert, she would receive 'pocket money every week'.[93] Kindertransportee Fry lived with a Scottish parson's family of the Church of Scotland.[94] Fry recalls that he was sent to church twice on Sunday to listen to sermons. He was eventually asked to leave after refusing to convert. Fry believes:

> Their major motive for taking me was quite clearly that they wanted to convert me to Christianity and I wasn't amenable.[95]

Rachel also experienced pressure to convert in return for support and guidance after moving to Glasgow.[96] She recalls that she had no other form of support and relied heavily on a minister and his wife. Rachel had been introduced to the couple by her sister and gradually found the minister's wife forceful in her efforts to convert her. This process included her being introduced to their church, choir and rangers' social club. She recalls on her eventual refusal to convert that 'Mrs MacDonald could never forgive me … that was a very difficult time, it was not easy'.[97]

Aside from proselytising, non-Jewish care could also be problematic because it potentially isolated Kindertransportees from Jewish or other denominational communities. In 1944, Schonfeld expressed his fears that many Jewish children had been placed in good Christian homes, but that these lacked 'any Jewish contacts'.[98] Fry's brother, fostered by a family of Plymouth Brethren, lived in an isolated village called Hardgate, near Clydebank.[99] Fry believes that the puritan sect was 'terribly limited and backward, they condemned going to the theatre or the cinema,' and enforced a very sectarian isolated lifestyle on his brother.[100] His brother was cut off

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[92] WL/BL/76.
[93] *Ibid.*
[94] WHMA/USC:31378.
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] FWPC/Rachel.
[97] *Ibid.*
[98] HLSC/MS183/344/10, Schonfeld (1944) 3.
[99] WHMA/USC:31378.
[100] *Ibid.*

from all outside influences and was not able to maintain Jewish or secular links during this period.

Being isolated from Jewish communities could cause an array of problems for the Kindertransportees' Jewish lifestyle. Non-Jews dominated non-Jewish areas and were often ignorant of Jewish traditions. Jacob recalls being asked 'who he was' by a Scottish woman.[101] When he told her that he was Jewish, she replied: 'I thought you people had horns'.[102] Such ignorance about Jews was not unique to Scotland, but affected Kindertransportees across Britain. One Kindertransportee points to the extent of naivety that could exist when she recalls her first evening meal with her non-Jewish foster parent in England:

> On our first evening we were served fried bacon with fried bread … 'we can't eat that' I said
> 'why not?' asked Mrs Noble
> 'because we're Jewish'
> 'that's impossible!'
> 'why?'
> 'because you haven't got a tail!' and that was that![103]

Nachtigall recalls that in the remote Scottish village of Dysart, Fife, he was somewhat of a novelty: 'not only was I the only Jew in that town, I think that most people never knew or had encountered a Jew'.[104] Isabel was sent to Kemnay, a village north of Aberdeen, and doubts that the community 'had ever seen a Jew, if they thought we had horns I don't know … I didn't come into any contact with any Jews except my aunt, until I went back to London'.[105]

Prejudiced ignorance could be a problem for Kindertransportees in non-Jewish care homes. Rachel was sent to the Quaker-run Renfield Street Hostel, Glasgow, for female Kindertransportees and other trans-migrants.[106] She found a lack of understanding amongst the staff and felt that the warden was anti-Semitic.

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[101] FWPC/Jacob.
[102] *Ibid.*
[103] Leverton, and Lowensohn, *I came alone,* 354.
[104] WHMA/KC/RG-50.002*43.
[105] FWPC/Isabel.
[106] FWPC/Rachel.

She recalls the warden verbally abusing her and a friend when they were passing time in an air-raid shelter: '"how dare you people laugh when our people are being killed … what Hitler is doing to the Jews is quite right"'. Anti-Semitism or ignorance about Jews was felt to be such a problem in Britain that Woburn House published a booklet in 1941, entitled 'The Jews; some plain facts'.[107] This intended to challenge myths and stereotypes thought to be widely held by non-Jews about Jews:

> There is not a single Jew on the Board of the Bank of England nor is any Jewish controlled firm represented on it … Jews do not Control the Press.[108]

Isolation from Jewish communities could lead Kindertransportees to lose their understanding of Judaism and Jewish life, even if they did not convert to another denomination. Kindertransportees living in non-Jewish environments could find it difficult to maintain rituals and observances, which were not supported in their surrounding community. Zahl Gottlieb argues that Kindertransportees could be forced to travel on the Sabbath in such environments.[109] Kosher food was also unavailable in isolated non-Jewish areas. Isabel decided to buy a live chicken when she visited her sister in England, in order to enjoy kosher food.[110] Schonfeld's correspondence draws attention to the problems Jews faced in secular employment for regular observance.[111] Marthe believes that she was at a disadvantage to Glasgow's Kindertransportees because they had contact with a Jewish community and were therefore able to maintain their 'heritage'.[112] She states that:

> A couple of times a year I go to synagogue, but I don't really know anything about it … I was really never in touch with Jewish people. I would follow people who were talking in a strange accent.[113]

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[107] HLSC/MS183/384/1, *The Jews; some plain facts*, booklet (London, 1941).
[108] *Ibid.* 41.
[109] Zahl Gottlieb, *Men of Vision,* 174.
[110] FWPC/Isabel.
[111] HLSC/MS183/290/1, Schonfeld, Letter, 17 December 1941.
[112] FWPC/Marthe.
[113] *Ibid.*

Marthe regrets that she is no longer able to pass her heritage on to her children, because she has forgotten it.

Failing to maintain Jewish traditions and not gaining an understanding of Jewish liturgy could permanently ostracise Kindertransportees from Jewish communities. Kindertransportees who tried to re-engage with their Jewish heritage in later life found it difficult and awkward as they lacked the basic linguistic skills. Scotland's *shuls* often used Hebrew or Yiddish in their services, rather than English. With no knowledge of these languages, some Kindertransportees found it difficult to participate in rituals and ceremonies. Kindertransportees also found it hard to reconnect with their Jewish families because of their non-Jewish experiences. Elsie's Catholic upbringing, 16 years in the Convent of the Sacred Heart, caused a problematic relationship for her with her Jewish aunt.[114] Elsie recalls that when she first moved in with her aunt in America, she hung her 'rosary over the bed post, it almost gave her [aunt] a heart attack'.[115]

Other problems for future Jewish lifestyles, stemming from non-Jewish care, included marrying non-Jewish partners. This could permanently ostracise Kindertransportees from Jewish communities who opposed 'marrying out'. Hans was fostered by non-Jews in Portobello and felt excluded from the local Jewish community after 'marrying out'.[116] The adoption of additional beliefs in conjunction with Judaism could also be problematic. Ani states that she is a 'cross with the Quakers … they do not convert folk … I call myself a Jewish Quaker, or a Quaker Jew. It feels all right'.[117]

Conversion was a challenge for the Kindertransportees' future connection to Judaism and could lead them to permanently abandon Jewish piety; however, non-Jewish care did not automatically mean that Kindertransportees were exposed to Christianity, proselytising influences, or experienced a loss of 'Jewishness'. Jewish piety and contact with a Jewish community could also be nurtured in non-Jewish care environments. The Presbyterian traditions of the Church of Scotland meant that

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[114] FWPC/Elsie.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] FWPC/Hans.
[117] FWPC/Ani, Correspondence, 17 June 2008.

some Kindertransportees recall receiving religious education appropriate to their Jewish backgrounds whilst living with non-Jews. Marthe recalls that at school in Scotland she had to learn bits out of the Bible, but her teachers would only give her sections from the Old Testament.[118] Nachtigall's church visits every Sunday with his foster family were followed by a session with the local minister to recite the *Shomar*.[119] Nachtigall recalls that Presbyterian traditions meant that the minister could help him with his Hebrew and Old Testament studies. The compatibility of the traditions of Scotland's Presbyterians and Judaism are also suggested by the adoption of Presbyterian traditions by some of Scotland's Jewish congregations. Braber has argued this point in the case of Garnethill's congregation, which adopted certain Presbyterian customs.[120]

Kindertransportees placed in non-Jewish care homes could also experience more Jewish nurturing than they were previously accustomed to. Hans, who was fostered by a non-Jewish family in Portobello, was sent to the Salisbury Road synagogue, Edinburgh, every weekend.[121] During this period, he attended Jewish education classes until he was *Bar Mitzvah*'d. Before Scotland, Hans had never been to a synagogue and his family did not adhere to any Jewish traditions. His experiences of non-Jewish care in Scotland were therefore coloured by a greater participation in Jewish life. His non-Jewish foster family also had various connections with Jews in Scotland and he eventually became apprenticed to one of these contacts. Hans' schooling was also connected to the Jewish community. He recalls that upon receiving an anti-Semitic remark from a teacher at the school, the large Jewish body at the school ensured that the teacher was removed. He also had close Jewish friends: 'Norman, Levi and Jacob'.[122]

Not all non-Jewish caregivers possessed a particular faith or offered an alternative to Judaism. Ariel was fostered in Edinburgh by a non-Jewish man and remained ignorant of any religious affiliation he may have possessed.[123] The standard of care in a non-Jewish home could also sometimes potentially be better

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[118] FWPC/Marthe.
[119] WHMA/KC/RG-50.002*43.
[120] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow,* 203.
[121] FWPC/Hans.
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] FWPC/Ariel.

than its Jewish alternative, offering long-term, stable, and loving, home environments. Nachtingall had moved from a Jewish home in Edinburgh, where he was very unhappy, to a non-Jewish family, where he felt happy and asked to stay.[124]

Non-Jewish care environments were not necessarily the final influence on Kindertransportees' connection to Judaism. Kindertransportees often re-established their connection with a Jewish community or their Jewish faith in later years. Elsie lived a devout Catholic life in Scotland for 16 years before migrating to America to rejoin her family.[125] She recalls that at that time she was a 'very religious Catholic' and even considered becoming a nun.[126] In America, Elsie discovered Judaism for the first time. She recalls that her first serious boyfriend was Jewish, followed by her husband, and that through these connections she learnt about being Jewish:

> For the first time in my life I went to a service and learnt about the Jewish holidays. I was being exposed to something I had never had.[127]

She does not currently practise regularly, but remains affiliated with the local temple and married in a Jewish ceremony. Elsie reflects that her experiences have meant that she feels a close affinity and warmth with Catholics, but also feels that she is Jewish.

Jewish care

Adath and CREC felt that Jewish care would nurture and protect the Kindertransportees' connection to Judaism, but this was not always the case. There are a large number of features that determine a pious Jewish lifestyle. Jason Heppell has suggested a list of important traditions to be adhered to by an observant Jew: including regular attendance of a synagogue on the Sabbath, definite observance of the main religious festivals – *Yom Kippur*, *Rosh Hashanah*, *Pesach*, *Shavuot*, *Purim* – prayers by the father at least once a day, kosher food, Friday night family meals,

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[124] WHMA/KC/RG-50.002*43.
[125] FWPC/Elsie.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] *Ibid.*

attendance of a *Cheder* for Hebrew instruction, *Bar Mitzvah*, daily prayers and synagogue attendance for boys, *Yeshiva* education and a Jewish social life.[128] Jewish care provisions operating in Scotland did not automatically allow Kindertransportees access to all of these activities or safe-guard their commitment to piety. There were a number of weaknesses in Jewish care, some of which actually worked to estrange the Kindertransportees from Judaism.

The Kindertransportees were placed in a number of Jewish care environments in Scotland. These included foster homes, pre-*hachsharot* facilities, orphanages, evacuation centres and hostels. Steinberg notes that five Jewish hostels were established by 1943 in order to cater for 193 evacuated Jewish children.[129] In Scotland, two Jewish evacuation centres, Castle Douglas and Kirkcudbrightshire, accommodated about 100 Jewish youth including Kindertransportees, while Birkenward hostel, Skelmorlie, cared for 60 minors. [130] Two hostels were also established specifically for the Kindertransportees: Glasgow's Garnethill hostel and Edinburgh's Salisbury Road hostel. The pre-existing Jewish Gertrude Jacobson Orphanage also admitted Kindertransportees. Whittingehame Farm School and Polton House were also established specifically for trans-migrant Jewish youth with the intention of providing agricultural training for onward migration and a continuation of a Jewish upbringing.[131]

Jewish care designed specifically for Jewish children did offer Kindertransportees some advantages for maintaining their Jewish connections. Handler recalled his eagerness to benefit the minors' Jewish upbringing simply by ensuring that they were kept together.[132] Jewish residential facilities also benefited from unique connections with their local synagogue. The Gertrude Jacobson Orphanage's president was Reverend Phillips, who had previously been the minister of Garnethill congregation and remained an important leader of the community.[133] Garnethill and Salisbury Road hostels were both directly linked to their respective local synagogues.

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[128] Heppell, 'A Rebel, not a Rabbi', 38.
[129] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 58.
[130] Abrams, *Caledonian Jews,* 53; Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 58.
[131] Please see Chapter Four for more details.
[132] WL/BL/25.
[133] Collins, *Be Well!,* 70.

Residential care homes sought to offer a high level of Jewish piety and enable daily interaction with Jewish guidance counsellors and caregivers. Ernst Flesch recalls that the Gertrude Jacobson Orphanage was 'very Jewish', run by Jewish staff.[134] Whittingehame was provided with its own rabbis, Joseph Hans Heinemann and, headmaster, Reverend Bernard Cherrick.[135] Both Heinemann and Cherrick provided guidance and oversaw day-to-day religious activity in the centre. At Whittingehame, Edna also remembers Pummy Engel, the Madrich (Zionist guidance councilor) of Bachad, who offered 'long conversations about God and creation'.[136] Rabbi Salis Daiches, of Salisbury Road synagogue, Edinburgh, was also closely involved with the religious management of Whittingehame. Fachler recalls Daiches' involvement in the preparations after *Pesach* for *Shavuot* and his advice to Fachler about religious etiquette; Fachler had kept growing his beard over *Pesach*, but was unaware that he was allowed to shave over the five days between *Rosh Chodosh* and *Shavuot,* until Daiches advised him otherwise.[137]

Jewish facilities, such as Whittingehame, were established as independent centres for Jewish life. Whittingehame was located in an isolated rural location in East Lothian and a *shul* was established on the estate. Drew, a former teacher at Whittingehame, wrote to his parents detailing the religious traditions and observances followed by the trainees.[138] These he recorded as being the main festivals of *Purim*, *Pesach*, *Roshannah*, *Chanukah* and *Yom Kippur*. For *Purim* the trainees put on a play emanating from Eastern Jewish theology and 'mysticism'.[139] Figure 3.6 shows *Pesach* observance at Whittingehame. For *Pesach* all corn and flour products were locked away, new crockery was brought out to be used, 'the kitchen range was raised to red-heat to purge it of previous impurity', blessings were performed, and *matzoth*, parsley and horseradish eaten, along with 'an egg roasted'

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[134] WL/BL/137.
[135] MCPC/Drew, Letters , 14 January 1939.
[136] FWPC/Edna.
[137] WL/BL/103.
[138] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 25 April 1940.
[139] *Ibid.*

and a shank-bone roasted in cinders.[140] Elijah recalls that for *Yom Kippur* Kindertransportees would fast.[141]

Figure 3.6. Pesach at Whittingehame
Source: MCPC/Drew, Photographs.

On a daily basis, residential facilities offered Kindertransportees an opportunity to maintain observances to Jewish traditions. Drew recalls the *Hora* and 'other peculiar Jewish dances' being performed.[142] The Sabbath was also adhered to and Abaigael recalls that no work was performed during this time.[143] Josephina remembers that teachers and other staff at Whittingehame made a special effort on the Sabbath to uphold traditions, including the lighting of candles.[144] Fachler, who later provided religious support for Kindertransportees at Polton House, recalls that Whittingehame was 'run on strictly Orthodox lines'.[145] Hubbers recalls that the kitchen was set up to adhere to *Kashrut*.[146] Separate washing-up areas and utensils were established for meat and for milk, and grace and 'all the appropriate blessings were made'.[147] Cohen Stein recorded that 'those very observant children who took *kashrut* very, very seriously' would receive their ice-cream treat at a different time to

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[140] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 25 April 1940.
[141] FWPC/Elijah.
[142] *Ibid*.
[143] FWPC/Abaigael.
[144] FWPC/Josephina.
[145] WL/BL/103.
[146] WHMA/USC:43138.
[147] SJA/SOC0004, Fay Cohen Stein, Memoir, 5 January 1995.

the other children at Whittingehame.[148] This was because they could not eat dairy products for several hours if they had had meat for dinner.

The Jewish residential facilities and foster homes offered advantageous opportunities to participate in a Jewish life in Scotland. Nevertheless, these did not automatically nurture and protect the Kindertransportees' connection to Judaism. The most immediate weakness of Jewish care in Scotland was the unique Scottish theological and practical character it possessed.[149] This meant that Kindertransportees experienced a different and sometimes alien Jewish upbringing. As has been previously mentioned, the Kindertransportees arrived from many different types of Jewish and non-Jewish backgrounds, communities and synagogues. They represented the whole spectrum of preferences and affiliations: Ultra-Orthodox, Orthodox, Misrachi, German Jewish Reform, Liberal, Conservative, non-practising, secular and even atheist.[150] Their orientations were also strongly coloured by their national origins, varying from German (56%), Austrian (34%), Czech (6%) and Polish (4%).[151]

The vast majority of Kindertransportees did not arrive with a shared Orthodox pious ideal to that offered by CREC. Adath's interpretation of appropriate Jewish care for Jewish children was derived from Anglo-Jewry's Orthodox theology and ritual traditions. The Kindertransportees represented a very different community to their co-religionists in Britain, especially the Orthodox community of Adath. Leo Baeck Institutes were established in 1955 in Jerusalem, New York and London, specifically to preserve the unique type of Judaism preferred by German Jewry.[152] Fast has also argued that there existed fundamental differences between Jewish orientations established in Germany and those formed in Britain.[153]

These distinctions caused confusion over Jewish terms, such as Liberalism, Reform or Orthodoxy, and their comparable congregations in Britain. German

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[148] *Ibid.*
[149] See Kenneth Collins, 'Orthodoxy and Reform: Differing Practices in a Glasgow Jewish Victorian Family', *Korot: the Israel Journal of the History of Medicine and Science,* vol.11, (1995).
[150] KA:QU/SUP.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] Michael Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism (*New York,1988) 54-55.
[153] Fast, *Children's Exodus*, 107.

Liberalism was not comparable to Britain's Liberal congregations, which tended to be more conservative and formal. German Reform was also very different to congregations born out of reforming movements in Britain. In 1944, Schonfeld reported his belief that the trans-migrants were a very different religious community to Anglo-Jewry.[154] Schonfeld wrote:

> In Germany 'orthodox' meant only the few strictly observant groups. Yet the 'Konservativ' were almost as orthodox, and the 'Liberalen' were observant of tradition Jewish rites and customs, as is the bulk of the orthodox Anglo-Jewish community. Yet any child described on the questionnaire as being other than 'orthodox' was and is regarded as outside the responsibility of the general Anglo-Jewish community.[155]

Schonfeld's statement underlines the problems of translating German Jewish orientations to a British counterpart and the naïve approach adopted for provisions of Jewish care. I have not identified a Kindertransportee who expresses having found that they were placed in a comparable Jewish care environments to their past.[156] Jan recalls the different type of Orthodoxy that her Jewish foster family possessed:

> They were Orthodox, not as Orthodox as me, we have variations of it, they did certain things on the Sabbath that I didn't do, but I had to just fit in.[157]

Kindertransportees recall feeling alien to the Scottish Jewish theology and approach to piety. Josephina emphasises in her narrative the differences she felt between herself and the Scottish Jews.[158] Max Milner, an independent trans-migrant, recalls his struggle to engage socially with Scotland's Jewry, whom he found lacked the habit of discussion and debate in their Jewish theology and daily lives as Jews.[159] This intellectual stagnation, Milner believes, made it imperative for trans-migrants to

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[154] MS183/344/10, Schonfeld (1944) 2/3.
[155] *Ibid.*
[156] FWPC.
[157] FWPC/Jan.
[158] FWPC/Josephina.
[159] WL/BL/3.

establish a Progressive Liberal or Reform Judaism movement in Britain.[160] Nonetheless, little progress was made in Scotland during the war years in establishing congregations based on these German-Jewish preferences. In 1931, the Albert Drive Reform Synagogue (The Progressive Synagogue), in Govanhill, Glasgow, was established, but this congregation only began to grow with the influx of trans-migrants from Greater Germany.[161] Collins argues that the new synagogue 'never achieved broad support' in Glasgow.[162] I have not identified one Kindertransportee who attended this synagogue.[163]

The British Reform and Liberal movements remained small and predominantly rooted in London, meaning that they had minimal influence on any of Scotlands' pre-existing congregations.[164] Braber explains that the influences of the early German settlers in the nineteenth century experienced a 'relatively fast decline' in Scotland and trends were not preserved after the 1890s.[165] Garnethill took reforming steps, but never adopted Liberal or Reform affiliations. This meant that there was little alternative to a Traditional or Orthodox approach to Judaism.[166]

In the absence of Liberal and Reform influences, the Kindertransportees' engagement with Judaism was characterised by the predominant regional preference for strict Orthodoxy and Traditional Judaism. The religious style and approach to worship this afforded could be far removed from Kindertransportees' previous religious orientations. In 1894, John Simon Oswald wrote of 'Reformed Judaism', that there was a fundamental difference between 'those who may be described as Rabbinical and as Reform Jews'.[167] Oswald describes this difference as a contrast in 'mental attitude' and basic approach to Judaism, whereby 'Reformed Judaism recognises an inherent distinction between ritualism and spirituality'.[168] Adath's

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[160] *Ibid.*
[161] NYPL/*Hashannah, 5718 (Jewish year); The Scottish Jewish Year Book 1957-58*, (Glasgow, 1958); Braber (2007) 158.
[162] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 30.
[163] FWPC; KA:QU/SUP.
[164] *Ibid.* 59.
[165] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow,* 199.
[166] HLSC/MS183/384/F1.
[167] John Simon Oswald, 'Reformed Judaism', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol.6, No. 2 (January 1894) 262-277.
[168] *Ibid.* 265

Orthodoxy represented a 'type' of Judaism that was fundamentally opposed to German Jewry's reforming tendencies and preferred theology. Reformers desired to introduce rationalism and interpretative discussion into Judaism and this led to clashes with their local Orthodox communities. Orthodox teaching assumed the uncritical, literal approach to the interpretation of the *Talmud Torah*. This adhered to the notion of the divine revelation of oral and written *Torah* and the immutability of tradition. The Reform and Liberal congregations prefer a more critical interpretation. Stephen Poppel's analysis of the conflict between Reform and Orthodoxy also stresses that the problem remained that being Jewish and Judaism meant completely different things to the different communities.[169] Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg's publication points to the divisions that had developed as a result within German Jewry between the Orthodox and reforming congregations.[170] These distinctions and divisions were also present within Anglo-Jewry.

Adath and the CREC's anxiety for the Kindertransportees' religiosity was connected to this wider concern for non-Orthodox co-religionists. Sybil Oldfield has pointed to the 'fierce divisions within the Jewish community' in Britain based upon these anxieties.[171] Tydor Baumel has presented the policy-clash that arose as a battle by Adath against the Liberal or Reform movements in Britain, to which the Chief Rabbi was fervently opposed.[172] Thus, the Kindertransportees were being offered a Jewish lifestyle that directly challenged those with a non-Orthodox background.

Linguistic preferences of Orthodox *Ostjuden* congregations could permanently ostracise Kindertransportees from Judaism. The *Talmud Torah* in Glasgow continued to use Yiddish for instruction, a language that many Kindertransportees did not understand. Kindertransportees also recall lacking knowledge of Hebrew, which meant that they were unable to understand liturgy and participate in services. The Orthodox approach to services could also be very

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[169] Stephen Poppel, *Zionism in Germany 1897-1933; The shaping of a Jewish Identity (*Philadelphia, 1977) 41.
[170] Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg (eds), *The Jewish Response to German Culture; From the Enlightenment to the Second World War* (London, 1985).
[171] Sybil Oldfield, '"It is Usually She": The Role of British Women in the Rescue and Care of the Kindertransport Kinder', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23 (Fall, 2004) 68.
[172] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee', 179.

different. The newer migrant communities from Eastern Europe maintained a preference for informal small congregations of worship. These included *Chevrot* (fraternities) or *Beth Hamedrash* (prayer houses).[173] In Glasgow's Gorbals, the *Chevra Kadisha* and *Beth Jacob* congregations remained loyal to this tradition. Rabbi Daiches had struggled in Edinburgh to unite the community because of these aversions to large united synagogues, perceived as '*der englisher shul'*.[174]

Kindertransportees tended to be more familiar with the larger synagogue approach.[175] This adhered to more formal structures for worship, with regular opening times and disciplined approaches to services. The larger *shuls* that had emerged in Scotland often still maintained strict Orthodox approaches to services. In the Gorbals, these included the Great Synagogue and Central Synagogue. In Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Independent Hebrew Congregation was formed to cater for strictly Orthodox orientations. These services would maintain Hebrew or Yiddish services, rather than English, segregated congregations, and specific prayers or rituals abandoned by Liberal/Reform congregations. Ministers were also drawn from Eastern Europe. The Crosshill synagogue, Glasgow, appointed Rabbi Mosche Dryan from Poland in 1935 to lead their congregation.

The regional popularity of Traditional Judaism amongst the older *Westjuden* settlers was also problematic and offered a new type of Jewish lifestyle for Kindertransportees. Chaim Bermant recorded that the 'Anglo-Jewish community had many virtues, but its ways were alien to the newcomers from Germany, as they had been to those from Poland and Russia'.[176] Traditional Judaism offered a new approach to theology and piety from Orthodoxy, taking tentative steps to modernise some of the stricter forms of worship.

Garnethill and the Graham Street Synagogues led efforts to modernise certain aspects of Scottish Jewry's approach to piety. They were perceived as the '*Englisher shuls'* and followed reforms introduced by the United Synagogue of Britain.[177] These reforms made the Traditional congregations milder in temperament

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[173] Bermant, *Troubled Eden,* 28.
[174] *Ibid*. 42; See also Daiches, *Two Worlds.*
[175] FWPC/Levi.
[176] Bermant, *Troubled Eden*, 74.
[177] *Ibid.* 58.

than their Orthodox co-religionists. Garnethill possessed a mixed choir, performed services in English, shortened services, introduced new prayers, omitted certain ceremonies and allowed the congregation to mix.[178] However, their ties to an Orthodox community prevented any radical departures from the orthodox Traditional approach. Braber has argued that efforts to modernise were prevented by new members, who migrated to Garnethill from neighboring *Ostjuden* communities.[179] As a result, the *Amida* (long devotional prayer) was reintroduced in 1922 and Reverend M. Simmons was eventually forced out of Garnethill after trying to make further changes. Simmons moved to Pollokshields, where he again found resistance to any modernising overtures. The Graham Street Synagogue also made limited amendments, due to Daiches' desire to appease the Orthodox community, who held him in suspicion for being too modern.[180]

Alongside these differences within the congregations and their approach to worship, cultural disparities also existed within and between the Kindertransportees and the host communities. The Kindertransportees express their experiences of entering a new type of Jewish lifestyle in the community. On a day-to-day basis in the community, the Kindertransportees' approach to Jewish life was fundamentally different to Anglo-Jewry's. Bermant has argued that rather than possessing the synagogue at the heart of the community, German Jews instead congregated at the café.[181] Kölmel has shown that German Jews remained proud of their German culture in Scotland and were subsequently detached from Glasgow's Jews.[182] Collins also supports the view that German Jews had a very distinct Jewish culture, unique to themselves.[183] Isabel recalls that 'Jewish Germans formed groups … they had social events … they all were German Jews it seemed like, I think we were just drawn to each other'.[184] Jewish trans-migrants in Scotland eventually established their own

[178] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, 199.
[179] *Ibid.* 157.
[180] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 35.
[181] Bermant, *Troubled Eden*, 74.
[182] Kölmel, 'Problems of Settlement', 251.
[183] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 74.
[184] FWPC/Isabel.

self-help society – The Society of Jewish Refugees (SOJR) - in 1940.[185] This was a refugee welfare organisation, which intended to enable aid and cultural support for trans-migrants by trans-migrants. SOJR even offered continental food to satisfy the trans-migrants' common food cravings.[186]

A dichotomy also existed within Jewish communities between *Ostjuden* and *Westjuden* lifestyles, or between Jews with origins in either Eastern or Western Europe. This division had been present in Greater Germany, meaning that many Kindertransportees arrived in Britain with an acute awareness of their particular community membership. Sarah Gordon has stressed that there was a clear distinction between the 'foreign' Jews in Germany and the secular Jewish German.[187] Geographic origins had formed a polarisation in cultural heritage and practices. In Germany, 'foreign' Jews, Gordon argues, could be marked out by their distinctive appearance: including black clothing, side locks and *yarmulkes* [Kippah], amongst others.[188] These divisions invited a revival of old prejudices. Jack Werthheimer has argued that derogatory references developed within each community.[189] *Polnische* or *Galizische Schnorrer* became terms used against Jews from Eastern Europe, who preferred strict Orthodoxy.[190] Viewed as superstitious backward fanatics, they were not secular enough for *Westjuden* communities' preferences. On the other hand, reforming Jews were perceived suspiciously as being closer to Gentiles than the Jews.

Scotland's Jews also possessed these internal differences based upon geographic and cultural heritage. Scotland possessed a number of sizable and vibrant, strictly Orthodox *Ostjuden* communities. These communities were derived from Eastern European immigrants from the 1890s. They tended to be located in poorer districts and preferred sectarian approaches to Jewish life. In Glasgow, the Gorbals was still the heart of the Orthodox community. Collins notes that over 50%

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[185] Kölmel, 'German-Jewish Refugees in Scotland', in Collins (ed.) *Aspects of Scottish Jewry*, 73.
[186] *Ibid.*
[187] Gordon, *Hitler, Germans and the 'Jewish Question',* 9.
[188] *Ibid.*
[189] Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg (eds), *The Jewish Response to German Culture; From the Enlightenment to the Second World War* (London, 1985).
[190] Jack Werthheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers; East European Jews in Imperial Germany* (Oxford 1987) 149.

of Jews in Glasgow still lived in the Gorbals in 1936.[191] Kindertransportees, such as Benson, were fostered within this community.[192]

The *Ostjuden* communities in Scotland continued to draw their day-to-day lifestyles from Eastern European *shtetl* culture and these could be far removed from Kindertransportees' previous approaches to Jewish life.[193] A former resident of the Gorbals, originally from a small Latvian *shtetl*, recalls that during this period the Gorbals 'offered the sights, sounds and smell of home … one heard Yiddish in the streets, saw Jewish names on the shop-fronts, and Jewish food on the counters. Fogels sold the best Russian bread'.[194] Tamar El-Or explains that the laws of *Halakha* govern Orthodox life.[195] These laws could impact on the Kindertransportees' lives in a number of ways. Female Kindertransportees could find themselves in more restrictive and prohibitive environments. Married women could be expected to wear the *sheitel* (wig).[196] Heppell's work points to the impact of Orthodoxy on women's role in religious life.[197] This kept them on the periphery and imposed segregation and exclusion from areas of Jewish life. Orthodox synagogues used a *mechitza* (women's section) and traditionally only boys would be expected to attend *Cheder* and be *Bar Mitzvah*'d. This was not compatible with many of the Kindertransportees' religious ambitions and expectations.[198]

The strictly Orthodox *Ostjuden* community did not always accept the Kindertransportees as Jews because of these disparities in cultural heritage. Kindertransportees could find themselves involuntarily ostracised and estranged from their local community.[199] A member of Glasgow's Gorbals' community recorded that the arrival of the Kindertransportees and other trans-migrants was a shock to the local residents, who felt that 'they didn't look or sound Jewish, because

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[191] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 59.
[192] FWPC/Benson.
[193] Heppell, 'A Rebel, not a Rabbi', 38.
[194] GJA: Chaim Bermant, 'Memoir', 1979, in *Tenth Anniversary Magazine; Patterns and Images of Jewish immigration in Scotland* (Glasgow 1997) 9.
[195] Tamar El-Or, 'Power/Knowledge/Gender: The Oranges-and-Grapefruit Debate', in Peskowitz and Levitt (ed.) *Judaism since Gender* 65.
[196] Collins, *Second City Jewry*, 77.
[197] Heppell, 'A Rebel, not a Rabbi', 44.
[198] FWPC/Edna, Batya, Abaigael.
[199] FWPC/Elijah.

they went around with their bare heads and spoke German, rather than Yiddish. Some of them weren't even circumcised and I suspected they were frauds'.[200] Rachel recalls the clash that occurred in Glasgow between the trans-migrants and the native Scottish Jews because the latter felt that the former 'were not Jews'.[201]

The Kindertransportees could also find the local Jewish life inappropriate and this could lead to friction and difficult relationships with their hosts. Without adopting these 'foreign' customs, the Kindertransportees could find it difficult to ingratiate themselves with their host community. One independent trans-migrant recalls that he found it difficult to accept and adapt to the new type of Jewish community because they 'had all sorts of customs and we just couldn't relate … it was like a completely different world'.[202] Rachel was placed with an Orthodox family in Dalkeith, Edinburgh, and found that her German-Jewish heritage caused tensions with her hosts, who originated from Poland.[203]

A clash in cultural heritage also occurred amongst the Kindertransportees. Drew wrote to his parents about the divisions amongst the children at Whittingehame, between those who were *Ostjuden* and 'who have led a narrow ghetto life for generations' and the non-Orthodox Kindertransportees. Drew noted:

> Our Poles are as a Jewish race apart, disliked by the others … their laws differ often in particulars. The non-Orthodox, whose parents are non-Orthodox or 'Liberal', are as other normal children in all matters. Even the Orthodox from Southern Germany and Austria have not this warped outlook on life.[204]

The care and nurture of the Kindertransportees was shaped by the monopoly held by the Orthodox and Traditional congregations of Anglo-Jewry over service provisions. Welfare schemes actively sought to exclude British Reform or Liberal impetus. Adath and the CREC viewed these movements as a 'deadly peril

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[200] GJA/Bermant, 'Memoir of an Eastern-European immigrant to Glasgow', 10.
[201] FWPC/Rachel.
[202] Cooper and Morrison, *A Sense of Belonging,* 93.
[203] FWPC/Rachel.
[204] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 14 January 1940.

threatening our traditional Jewish life'.[205] In Glasgow, the New Central Synagogue (NCS) clashed with the Albert Drive Reform congregation (ADRC).[206] The NCS objected to the ADRC's contact with the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council (GJRC) and sought to exclude them from future contact with welfare schemes. The ADRC was also barred from *Shechita* (communal board).[207] This situation was not exclusive to Scotland. Across Britain, Reform or Liberal congregations were being actively excluded from Jewish philanthropy. Hertz initially excluded the Liberal and Reform congregations from the National Council of Jewish Religious Education (JEC), while the Board of Orthodox Education and the CREC offered exclusively Orthodox education provisions.[208]

Subsequently, the Reform or Liberal movements remained ostracised from Scottish Jewish welfare provisions, financially weak and of little significance to the Kindertransportees' religious care. Instead, the Traditional Orthodox congregations of Garnethill synagogue, Glasgow, and the Graham Street Synagogue, Edinburgh, decreed the correct type of provisions for a Jewish environment for Kindertransportees in hostels and the pre-*hachsharot* facilities in Scotland. This adopted a simplistic and unrepresentative approach to Jewish care, aligning too narrowly with an Orthodox Anglo-Jewry.

The unrepresentative nature of Jewish activities meant that when Kindertransportees did receive Jewish care, they did not inevitably engage with Judaism. Care facilities adhered to a 'one-size-fits-all' and an 'all-or-nothing' approach to Jewish care provisions and did not cater for Kindertransportees floating in the middle of the religious spectrum. For example, in Germany, Reforming Jews sought *Bildung (*or secular education).[209] In contrast, Steinberg argues, in Britain Jewish minors from 'Liberal, Reform or Spanish and Portuguese parents' were forced to attend exclusively Ashkenazi Orthodox Jewish classes during the war.[210]

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[205] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 46-47.
[206] Braber, 'Jews in Glasgow', 159.
[207] *Ibid.*
[208] *Jewish Chronicle,* 9 May 1941.
[209] Such as *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums.*
[210] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 53.

At Whittingehame, 'lectures in Jewish tradition, in Hebrew, in religion' were provided, and Sprinzeles believes that these 'were taught in a Traditional manner'.[211]

The result was that the majority of the children did not receive the correct level, orientation or type of religious care for their needs. The atheist or secular children still received too much religion, as they participated in Holy Day celebrations and adhered to *Kashrut* and the Sabbath. Those whose families had observed some customs or who were of non-Orthodox backgrounds received the wrong kind of religious care. Of those who were previously observant, but of an alternative affiliation and who therefore felt compelled to remain outside the smaller and in many ways alien, strictly observant Orthodox group, they experienced a sharp break in their religious interaction.

Failing to offer a familiar Jewish environment led some Kindertransportees to feel misunderstood and alienated. Edna recalls:

> To the best of my knowledge we were not very well understood by British-Jewry. The German style of religion (however varied it was within Germany) was distinctly different from the British, which was more of a "Ostjuden" and a mixture of Yiddish. It greatly differed from the German style.[212]

This meant that Kindertransportees could become ostracised from a Jewish lifestyle whilst living within a Jewish residential facility. Sprinzeles recalls that 'there was no rigidity about it … there was as much as you wanted to observe … it was very liberal'.[213] Being unrepresentative and non-mandatory led some Kindertransportees to choose to opt out. Subsequently, in Whittingehame, the residents became increasingly fragmented and divided, split between the pious and non-pious. Kindertransportees stuck to certain groups and Drew wrote to his parents of the divisions that developed between the observant and non-observant groups.[214] Nathan was part of the religious group and recalled that two separate dining rooms

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[211] WHMA/USC:43932.
[212] FWPC/Edna.
[213] WHMA/USC:43932.
[214] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 21 August 1939.

emerged.[215] Only the religious dining room adhered strictly to Jewish law, such as not mixing meat and milk. Abaigael recalls that Kindertransportees in the non-religious dining area were not required to pray before meals.[216] Elijah opted out of a pious lifestyle and remembers that the Orthodox trainees at Whittingehame 'kept to themselves'.[217] Elijah never attended the synagogue at Whittingehame. Kindertransportees who chose to opt out also had the option to join the Scouts, under the guidance of the non-Jewish Drew. Drew's protégés express little recollection of any Jewish interaction. Sprinzeles does not remember having been in contact with any religious Kindertransportees, despite the high number of observant students at the school.[218]

Alternatively, Kindertransportees who did not opt out, wishing to maintain a Jewish life, often found that they had to compromise their Jewish orientation and adopt the new prescribed approach. Edna decided to join Bachad and the strictly Orthodox Kindertransportees at Whittingehame because she felt that otherwise she was not receiving any Jewish support: 'I had the feeling that the only place I could keep up my religion was Bachad'.[219] Edna's mother wrote to her objecting to her decision.[220] Rachel believes that as a result of a different type of Jewish care, she 'had moved away from' the Jewish life her parents had preferred.[221]

Alternatively, in other Jewish care environments, pious participation could be compulsory. Over-zealous Jewish care, especially if it adhered to a strict Orthodox approach, could overwhelm and alienate Kindertransportees. Higher levels of piety and prohibitive laws could appear daunting and scary. In such cases, Kindertransportees felt that a Jewish lifestyle was being 'imposed versus embraced'.[222] Elijah was initially sent to a family in England who assumed that he would be suitable for a *Yeshiva*.[223] Elijah recalls that his family in Poland 'were not overly religious … we were not Orthodox religious … [in England] they wanted to

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[215] FWPC/Nathan.
[216] FWPC/Abaigael.
[217] FWPC/Elijah.
[218] WHMA/USC:43932.
[219] FWPC/Edna.
[220] *Ibid.*
[221] FWPC/Rachel.
[222] Berger, 'Jewish Identity and Jewish Destiny', 85.
[223] FWPC/Elijah.

put me into a *Yeshiva*. I was not a religious person and when I saw this Yeshiva, I just ran. It frightened me'.[224] Elijah went on to join the non-religious group at Whittingehame. Ernst Flesch was sent to the Gertrude Jacobson Orphanage, Glasgow, and recalls that the religious experience pushed him away from Judaism:

> Lots of prayers … and we went to *Cheder* and on Holy days we went to synagogue of course. So it was very Jewish … a bit too much … they shoved it down our throats, which didn't improve our piety … they wanted us to stay Jewish ... which we did up to a point. We had *Bar Mitzvah* … we had services in the hostel. In fact all the time, too much … I was gradually losing my connections really with the religion. When we got away from there, of course, I can't remember anybody going to synagogue ever, of my friends after, when we got to London.[225]

Flesch's reflection is a frank testimony of the problems of estranging Kindertransportees from Judaism as a result of over-zealous Jewish care.

Rebelling against the new imposed environment and consciously rejecting piety, when they were at liberty to do so, was not uncommon. Kindertransportees were adolescents and would rebel against new prohibitive lifestyle. Benson was from a non-practising family and fostered by a 'moderately' observant family in Glasgow.[226] He recalls that he was expelled from the *Yeshiva* in Glasgow after rebelling against its impositions on his lifestyle. Benson was accused of eating ice-cream on *Yom Kippur* and happily accepted his expulsion. In Whittingehame, Kindertransportees challenged Daiches' strict approach to Sabbath observance. The matron recalls the trainees' enjoyment of 'mixed bathing', which Daiches opposed.[227] Drew also recorded an ongoing debate within the school concerning the use of lamplight to read during the Sabbath.[228] Levi recalls non-observant children

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[224] *Ibid.*
[225] WL/BL/137.
[226] FWPC/Benson.
[227] MCPC/Lucy Laqueur, 'A Matron Remembers', in *Whittingehame Farm School Ltd*, Brochure, 17.
[228] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 14 January 1940.

eating and cooking for themselves outside the school building on Holy Days when everyone else had to fast.[229]

The Jewish residential facilities also transformed the role of Judaism in the Kindertransportees' daily lives by way of institutionalising Jewish life. The Kindertransportees' engagement with Judaism was no longer within a small private family setting, but instead now took place within public communal activities. Handler has testified to his concerns about the impact of 'institutionalised religion' for the young people within Britain's *hachsharot*.[230] Howard Cooper and Paul Morrison have pointed to important events that occur within the family setting, which were not continued in the Kindertransportees' lives within Jewish residential care: 'a *Seder*, a Friday-night meal, a birthday, an anniversary, or that symbolic inauguration of the marital relationship: a Jewish wedding'.[231] Cooper and Morrison also highlight the centrality of the participation of family generations in Jewish life, which was missing in residential care homes.[232] Kindertransportees frequently missed out on their *Bar Mitzvah* or *Bat Chayil* (Orthodox ceremony for girls). Sprinzeles missed out on her *Bat Chayil* because, without her close family support, she lacked a sponsor or guidance.[233] Evelyn Cowan's memoir of growing up in the Gorbals as a child underlines the centrality to a child's life of religious festivals within the home, such as *Chanukah*.[234]

Jewish foster care was not a guarantee of inclusion within a Jewish family life. Kindertransportees could be ostracised and excluded from participation in Jewish activities, within private and public domains. This could be caused by class prejudice and xenophobia, which led foster parents to relegate Kindertransportees to domestic service and servicing roles.[235] Rachel was fostered in Edinburgh by a Jewish family and was expected to provide domestic service in return for her

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[229] FWPC/Levi
[230] WL/BL/25.
[231] Cooper and Morrison, *A Sense of Belonging,* 26.
[232] *Ibid.*
[233] WHMA/USC:43932.
[234] Evelyn Cowan, *Spring Remembered: A Scottish Jewish Childhood* (Edinburgh, 1974).
[235] See Chapter One.

lodgings.[236] Other than accompanying them to the local synagogue, she was excluded from all Jewish activities.

The CREC believed that Jewish care would preserve Kindertransportees' connection to Judaism by providing a Jewish upbringing. However, the environment was never exclusively Jewish. Instead, Jewish care nearly always possessed a significant non-Jewish presence. Kindertransportees in Jewish foster homes engaged with non-Jews on a daily basis in Scotland.[237] Kindertransportees were not always sent to Jewish schools by Jewish caregivers, but were frequently enrolled in secular local schools. The Kindertransportees at Garnethill hostel attended the local Garnetbank Primary School.[238] Jan recalls that she went to a regular school, which was a culture shock because she had never been with non-Jewish children.[239] The Kindertransportees' schooling was especially significant to their religious upbringing because, as David Limond argues, 'sectarian parochialism' characterised many of the local schools in Scotland.[240] This meant that schools tended to adhere to either Catholicism or Protestantism.

Under Jewish care, Kindertransportees were still vulnerable to proselytising. Christian missionaries were active in Jewish communities, providing philanthropy and welfare. Collins argues that 'evangelical missionaries were present in the Gorbals of Glasgow and worked to 'win the Jews for Christ', by way of offering 'medical, social and welfare benefits'.[241] Alexander Levison was active in the Independent Hebrew Congregation of Edinburgh, but also worked to convert Jews.[242]

Non-Jews also worked within Jewish care facilities and could challenge or compromise the Jewish environment. Whittingehame utilised a large number of non-Jewish staff, including the headmaster, Maxwell, his deputy Drew, estate workers, and the Trapains, on whose estate the school was established.[243] Drew wrote to his

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[236] FWPC/Rachel.
[237] FWPC/Rachel, Benson.
[238] GJA/SOC0002, 'List of names of refugee boys attending Garnetbank Primary School in 1939'.
[239] FWPC/Jan.
[240] David Limond, 'Locality, Education and Authority in Scotland: 1902-2002 (Via 1872), *Oxford Review of Education*, vol.28, 2/3, (June - September, 2002) 360.
[241] Collins, *Be Well!,* 6.
[242] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 30.
[243] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5.

parents about incidents at Whittingehame, when non-Jewish staff challenged the religious rules of the school. One instance included Drew and the Matron deciding to eat a lobster caught by one of the boys, despite shellfish being prohibited by the rules of *Kashrut*.[244] Drew also received parcels of food from his parents, which allowed him to enjoy 'entirely non-Jew meals' with Maxwell.[245] Whittingehame's Rabbi Heinemann clashed with Drew after discovering that he had allowed the cows in the dairy to be milked on the Sabbath.[246] The Rabbi banned the boys from drinking the subsequent supply of milk. Drew wrote to his parents about his frustration about the Rabbi, 'a narrow-minded spineless little stickler for orthodoxy'.[247]

Kindertransportees in residential care were also introduced to the local Christian community. Drew records his introduction of Kindertransportees at Whittingehame to the local Reverend and states that he took several Kindertransportees to Manse, East Lothian, for Christian services.[248] Lady Trapain played an important role in the daily lives of the Kindertransportees. The *Haddingtonshire Courier* reported her activities, introducing Kindertransportees to Christian festivals.[249] On 6 January 1939, she took Kindertransportees to the local public hall, where Christmas festivities took place.[250] Their visit was coordinated with members of the local parish and non-Jewish children, from Tynepark Home and Morham Vale Home. The Kindertransportees gave recitations under the direction of 'Mrs Myles' and listened to the other children singing festive songs. Father Christmas presented the Kindertransportees with gifts and Reverend Marshall Lang was present.

The Jewish committees responsible for the care of Kindertransportees in a Jewish environment also utilised the help of non-Jewish organisations. In 1940, a report by the CC recorded that 'relations with the Christian Council … (was) one of

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[244] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 25 April 1940.
[245] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 14 January 1940.
[246] *Ibid.*
[247] *Ibid.*
[248] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 25 April 1940.
[249] *Haddingtonshire Courier,* 6 January 1939.
[250] *Ibid.*

the happiest features' of their work.[251] In 1939, the *Jewish Echo* reported that the refugee hostels in Glasgow were working in co-operation with the Scottish Christian Council (SCC).[252] Reverend Robert Smith led the SCC in Edinburgh.[253] Non-denominational youth organisations, such as the Scouts, were also permitted within Jewish care environments. These often had links to local non-Jewish congregations.

The CREC also argued that a Jewish upbringing required regular contact with a local Jewish community. Despite the relatively small size of Scotland's Jewish population, contact with a local Jewish community was feasible for most Kindertransportees. Nathan Abrams has shown that beyond the two main traditional centres of Jewish life in Scotland – Glasgow and Edinburgh – there were also Jewish congregations in Aberdeen, Dumfermline, Falkirk, Greenock and Inverness.[254] In 1936, Aberdeen is recorded as having 25 Jewish families, Dumfermline possessed nine families in 1937, Falkirk had 62 families in 1945 and Greenock five families in 1933.[255] These centres, especially Ayr, were boosted in numbers and vibrancy by evacuation during the war years, especially from Glasgow and Edinburgh, as well as by Jewish servicemen. Scotland's Jewish communities had developed a strong infrastructure to support religious piety and a Jewish community life: including *Talmud Torah, Cheder, Chevra Torah*, youth clubs, community centres, Orthodox boarding houses, *shuls* and *Shechita*.[256] Competing congregations emerged within most of these centres. Braber provides detailed information about 17 synagogues in Glasgow alone.[257]

The CREC and Adath directed local rabbis to encourage their local congregations to engage with the trans-migrants on a regular basis. Kindertransportees in Jewish foster care tended to adhere to the normal preference for attending the closest synagogue. Benson was fostered in the south side of Glasgow and so never joined Kindertransportees of Garnethill hostel at the

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[251] HLSC/MS183/384.
[252] *Jewish Echo,* 6 January 1939.
[253] HLSC/MS183/384/1.
[254] See Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*.
[255] *Ibid.*
[256] *Ibid*. 170.
[257] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, 142.

Garnethill synagogue.[258] Instead, he attended the local Pollokshields synagogue. Congregations could sometimes extend social invitations to the Kindertransportees after the service. The Kindertransportees at Whittingehame were invited to Glasgow to perform for the local congregation at Garnethill.[259] Rachel remembers being invited by the local rabbi, Dr Crossgrove, the minister at Garnethill, for *Shabbat* at his house.[260] Individual members of the congregation sometimes formed close relations with Kindertransportees. Hans recalls that an elderly Jew 'sort of took me under his wing, a fellow call Levi'.[261] Levi's son invited Hans to become a companion to his son and later suggested that he join his knitwear company.

Nevertheless, not all Kindertransportees interacted with their local Jewish community and some express their sense of exclusion from its activities. Kindertransportees argue that they were in many cases too poor, too young and too busy to become involved in Jewish community life. Being minors meant that the Kindertransportees were excluded from a number of areas of Jewish social life. The Albert Drive Synagogue, which was the only congregation affiliated with the Reform Movement in Glasgow, had an associated social club, the '306 Club'. However, 'no person under the age of 21' was admitted without their parents' consent.[262] Jan remembers that 'the Scottish community was a nice vibrant community, but I was not part of it because I was a child'.[263] Kindertransportees could not join the adult arena of Jewish community life because they were minors and lacked a close adult to introduce them to certain activities. Rachel recalls that only when her mother joined her in Glasgow, did she begin to have contact with the Glasgow community:

> The first time I did [meet the Jewish community] was when my mother came in 1947 … because she went to synagogue and was much more involved with the Jewish people… she had more in common with them … but I didn't have that.[264]

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[258] FWPC/Benson.
[259] FWPC/Elijah.
[260] FWPC/Rachel.
[261] FWPC/Hans.
[262] *Hashannah, 5718 (Jewish year); The Scottish Jewish Year Book 1957-58,* (Glasgow, 1958) 49.
[263] FWPC/Jan.
[264] FWPC/Rachel.

Jan believes that had she been older, she would still not have been able to participate because she was too busy working to survive in her new environment: 'I had to work at the age of 16 … I really was very busy'.[265] Membership of certain aspects of Jewish community life also demanded money, which the Kindertransportees lacked. Garnethill still required 'seat holder rates' and this prevented the poorer Jews in the community from attending.[266]

The local Jewish communities were not automatically hospitable. Jewish communities could be inward looking and unreceptive to the new arrivals. Rachel felt that the Edinburgh community was 'cold' to her.[267] When she moved to Glasgow, she also struggled to make contact with the community. Hans recalls that he had no other contact with the Salisbury Road congregation other than Levi.[268] Rachel recalls that during her stay with a Jewish foster family in Edinburgh she was excluded from all social engagements with the Jewish community.

> I wasn't really much part of Edinburgh or Glasgow Jewish community … as far as Edinburgh was concerned the only contact that I had was when I went to Synagogue and back again … it was a time that I was extremely lonely, I didn't have anyone to talk to … I used to go to the library and get books out ... I created my own dream world.[269]

Kindertransportees also remember being rejected by members of Scotland's Jewry because of their foreign refugee status. Jan was rejected by a Jewish suitor because she lacked family credentials and as a refugee was not perceived in a favourable light by his parents.[270]

People often preferred philanthropy rather than personal engagement with the trans-migrants. Fachler recalls that at Whittingehame the governors, drawn from Glasgow and Edinburgh's Jewish communities, would remain at a distance, only asking specific questions.[271] Tydor Baumel argues that 'local religious leaders …

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[265] FWPC/Jan.
[266] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow,* 145.
[267] FWPC/Rachel.
[268] FWPC/Hans.
[269] *Ibid.*
[270] FWPC/Jan.
[271] WL/BL/103.

preferred to ignore Jewish refugee children in their midst'.[272] Rachel lived on Renfield Street in a hostel for girls, run by the Quakers, and only once recalls joining the boys at Garnethill hostel for Passover and a *Seder* meal.[273] Her impression of the local Glasgow community was that, because of the war, they were inward looking and desired to tackle their own problems first. Ariel lived in Edinburgh, fostered by a non-Jewish man.[274] He believes that he was never contacted by Scotland's Jewry and thought that Edinburgh did not have a synagogue or Jewish community.

A Jewish education was deemed a central ingredient to a Jewish upbringing and most important for the maintenance of Kindertransportees' connection with Judaism.[275] The centres of Jewish learning sought to teach an array of subjects, including '*Talmud*, *Mishnah, Pentateuch* with commentaries, Prophets, Hebrew language and literature, Jewish history, Jewish religion, history of Zionist and Palestinography', along with classes in *Dinim* (Jewish laws).[276] Kindertransportees were commonly enrolled in Jewish education facilities local to their original placements. These could include attendance of a *Yeshiva, Cheder*, or private Jewish tuition.

For Kindertransportees who adopted the Anglo-Orthodox approach to Judaism, some did manage to gain their *Bar Mitzvah* and pursue rabbinical training. In Polton House, a tutor from Edinburgh was found for a group of boys in preparation of their *Bar Mitzvah*.[277] Fachler was also employed to provide Jewish education.[278] In Whittingehame, Rabbi Heinemann provided private lessons in Judaism alongside Reverend Cherrick.[279] Rabbi Daiches from Edinburgh supervised the Orthodoxy of Whittingehame. In 1939, Daiches reported to Schonfeld that 'the teaching of Hebrew as a vernacular, Jewish history, religion, etc, would form an important part of the curriculum'.[280]

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[272] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee', 181.
[273] FWPC/Rachel.
[274] FWPC/Ariel.
[275] HLSC/MS183/384.
[276] *Ibid.*
[277]FWPC/Jacob.
[278]WL/BL/103.
[279] Baerbel Laufer, 'Memories', in *Whittingehame Farm School Reunion*, Brochure, 38.
[280] MS116/157/AJ396/5, Minutes, 21 March 1939.

Residential facilities for some Kindertransportees did lead on to deeply devout Orthodox Jewish lives in later life. Immanuel Jakobovits was a former resident of Whittingehame and eventually became the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain.[281] This is an indication of the success of the Orthodox education given to the Kindertransportees. Jakobovits was able to pursue higher education and attended *Etz Chaim Yeshiva* in London, the Jew's College and the University of London. By 1949, he was appointed Chief Rabbi of Ireland at the young age of 27. However, Jakobovits' life story seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

Kindertransportees living outside the residential facilities had a more sporadic Jewish educational experience. No comprehensive national Jewish education service existed during this period, so Kindertransportees in foster care were reliant on *ad-hoc* RCM initiatives and local community provisions. The RCM decreed that Kindertransportees in non-Jewish foster homes, outside of Jewish areas, were to undertake correspondence courses, while Kindertransportees living within Jewish areas were to enjoy group celebrations of Jewish Holy Days and study groups, organised by their regional committees.[282] The Maccabi and Habonim groups were to be utilised to offer education in Jewish social pursuits. These objectives were not widely experienced and I have yet to find a Kindertransportees in Scotland who recalls undertaking a correspondence course.

Nonetheless, Scotland's Jewish communities did possess pre-existing Jewish education services to support the RCM's suggested education policy for Kindertransportees. In the 1920s, the Scottish Area Council for Jewish Education was established and Boards of Jewish Education were created in the main Jewish centres. Kindertransportees in Glasgow benefited from a particularly strong infrastructure. In 1935, the *Talmud Torah* became part of Glasgow's Board of Jewish Education. Bar Kochba sports clubs had been established in Glasgow in 1933 and these became connected to the British Maccabi Association. In Glasgow, there also existed a Jewish Fresh Air Fund, which undertook schemes to take urban Jewish children into the countryside for short breaks. As Collins has argued, the community

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[281] See Chaim Bermant, *Lord Jakobovits; the Authorised Biography of the Chief Rabbi* (London, 1990).

[282] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Booklet 'Bloomsbury House; The care of German and Austrian Refugees'.

had 'developed strong institutions to support the provisions of Jewish education'.[283] Edinburgh also possessed well-established education facilities. Edinburgh's *Talmud Torah* was established in 1894 and before 1914 was held in the basement of the Orthodox Graham Street Synagogue before moving to Sciennes School.[284] Classes in Edinburgh were daily between 5pm and 7pm. Herbert Adler, the Director of the JEC, made regular inspections of Scotland's various education facilities.[285]

Despite the efforts to provide Jewish education, facilities remained weak, sporadic and did not reach all of the Kindertransportees. The situation was made worse by the demands of the war, most notably by the mass evacuation of minors. In December 1939, the Joint Emergency Committee for Jewish Education in London created 90 new centres of Jewish education for 3,000 evacuated children.[286] This rose to 129 in 1940. However, this had little impact on the Kindertransportees in Scotland. In 1940, Frank Samuel wrote to Anthony de Rothschild about the continued failures to provide a religious education to evacuated Jewish children.[287] Steinberg believes that by the close of war the whole system had broken down.[288] In 1940, the *Jewish Chronicle* reported that an estimated 70% of Jewish children in Britain were still not receiving a Jewish education.[289] In May 1941, the CC recorded that 'more than 5,000 children' under the RCM still received 'no organised religious education'.[290] It was also estimated that Habonim (a socialist Zionist youth movement) was only providing an education service to 500 children in Britain in 1939.[291] Education provisions were never unified and there continued to be a fragmented collection of competing Jewish education facilities, each affiliated to a corresponding synagogue. The system in Scotland continued to be part-time and lacked funds, staff, supplies and access to pupils.[292] In 1942, the Chief Rabbi wrote to the Home Office requesting that the CREC be given authority over the

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[283] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 33.
[284] Collins, *Second City Jewry*, 77.
[285] See Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*.
[286] HLSC/MS183/384/F2.
[287] HLSC/MS183/53/2/1, Letter, 6 February 1940.
[288] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education', 27.
[289] *Jewish Chronicle,* 12 January 1940.
[290] HLSC/MS183/384, Minutes, 15 May 1941.
[291] *Ibid.*
[292] Steinberg, 'Jewish Education*',* 29.

Kindertransportees' Jewish education.[293] Hertz argued that the Kindertransportees were receiving inadequate and 'sporadic attempts' at education, which at best provided them with a 'minimum of religious instruction'.[294]

The poor quality and limited abilities of the Jewish education system in Britain meant that when Kindertransportees did receive Jewish education, they did not inevitably engage with Judaism. At 14, Edna found that she had no prospect of being *Bat Mitzvah*'d because she just didn't know enough.[295] Fachler believes that at Whittingehame there was little adult guidance and the Kindertransportees were left to lead their own Jewish learning.[296]

Alternative (Jewish) lives

Although the Kindertransportees express limited religious engagement with Judaism this did not automatically mean that they no longer engaged with a Jewish life. Jewish youth groups or clubs, providing recreational activities, became an important component of Jewish life for the Kindertransportees. This point is often overlooked. These organisations advocated social, cultural and national connections to being Jewish. These sometimes overtly opposed religiosity, yet they tended to encourage a strong association with a Jewish community.

Zionist ideology captivated many Kindertransportees and provided an important alternative connection to Judaism and the meaning of being Jewish. In 2003, Handler argued that regardless of whether the Kindertransportees were affiliated with religious or non-religious Zionism, they were still Jewish per se and so strict piety was not as important a factor for their connection to being Jewish.[297] Silberstein has argued that Zionism displaced 'previously dominant religious notions of Jewish culture and identity'.[298] To be Jewish was no longer understood in religious terms, as 'Judaism itself was transformed by the new discourse of Jewish

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[293] HLSC/MS183/290/1.
[294] *Ibid.*
[295] FWPC/Edna.
[296] WL/BL/103.
[297] WL/BL/25.
[298] Silberstein, 'Toward a Postzionist Discourse', 93.

nationalism'.[299] Braber believes that Zionism became the central component of Scottish Jewish identity.[300] These shifts led many Kindertransportees to express an atheist or agnostic connection to their Jewish heritage. Jewish culture, society and politics dominated connections to being Jewish. Edna recalls that, at Whittingehame, the trainees adopted a national significance to their 'Jewishness' and that Zionism took precedence over religion.[301]

Scotland's vibrant Zionist youth movement played a central role in Kindertransportees' lives in the region, providing both secular and in some cases pious engagement with Judaism. Ruby Ockrent established a Habonim group in Edinburgh and, among others, there also existed a Bachad, Hashomer Hatzair and Bnei Keive.[302] Each youth movement catered for three age groups: *Bonim* (age 9-12), *Tsofim* (age 13-15) and *Vatikim* (age 16 and above).[303] Bachad and Bnei Keive remained the religious options for youth, while Hashomer Hatzair was particularly anti-religious. A socialistic communist movement, Kindertransportees who joined it vehemently veered away from piety. Habonim also challenged the religious connections of the Kindertransportees. Habonim was a socialist trade union orientated group, which, in Britain, had traditionally been affiliated with its local synagogue. However, the influence of the German Habonim youth pushed the group further away from this relationship and towards a more 'irreligious' secular orientation.[304] Elijah was a member of Habonim at Whittingehame and recalls that the youth group 'did quite a lot of Zionist things … not religious at all'.[305] Benson recalls that he consciously rejected piety in favor of his Habonim youth group.[306] He initially would go to meetings of Habonim and Bnei Keive with no particular preference. Ending up in Habonim, he describes it as a Jewish Scouts with no religious observance. Benson followed his *Gar'in* (group of Zionist youth, who will make *Aliyah* together) to Amiad, Israel, a non-religious kibbutz. Milner believes that

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[299] *Ibid*.
[300] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow,* 178.
[301] FWPC/Edna.
[302] FWPC/Levi.
[303] NYPL/Hashannah.
[304] FWPC/Levi.
[305] FWPC/Elijah.
[306] FWPC/Benson.

the Habonim group offered trans-migrants an important alternative to Jewry's religiosity and Orthodox theology.[307]

The period marked an era of opportunity for youth to participate in outdoor pursuits. Jewish youth groups enabled Jewish communities to maintain a Jewish connection with their minors. This trend had already been established for many Kindertransportees before migration. In Germany, Youth Aliyah encouraged youth to engage in outdoor activities and join local Jewish clubs. Peter Stachura's publication has shown that the German youth movement was an important aspect of the lives of young people, and that each denomination possessed its own related cluster of clubs.[308] Youth groups tended to be affiliated with a local church or synagogue.[309] In Glasgow, the Maccabi club was associated with Garnethill's congregation. The Maccabi club became popular amongst Kindertransportees and offered non-religious sports pursuits.[310] Whilst at Garnethill, Fry joined 'a youth organisation … equivalent of the Scouts and some Jewish sports club … I learnt boxing … these were Jewish sports organisations'.[311]

Conclusion

> My confusion was threefold. Firstly for years I could not be sure if I was German or English, Jew or Gentile. I used to say that I got sore from sitting on the fence. In recent years however, I have resolved these problems and at last come to terms with myself.[312]

This statement is indicative of the lack of clarity felt by the Kindertransportees in relation to their Jewish connection. I have tried to demonstrate that to assume that Jewish care safeguarded Jewish minors' religiosity, and that non-Jewish care led to their estrangement, is too simplistic and naïve at best. There were a multitude of influencing contributors to the Kindertransportees' connection to being Jewish. In

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[307] BL/WL/3.
[308] See Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*.
[309] Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth', 103-134.
[310] *Jewish Echo*, 2 March 1939.
[311] WHMA/USC:31378.
[312] Ingrid Gassman, in Leverton and Lowensohn (ed.) *I Came Alone*, 117.

all cases, this affiliation was transformed rather than lost. This change had begun before migration and would continue progressively as a result of both non-Jewish and Jewish care experiences in Scotland.

Before the Kindertransportees had left Greater Germany, they had already undergone a transition in terms of their Jewish lives and levels of religious piety. This had occurred on a large scale, affecting the whole Jewish community of Greater Germany. This was due to both reforming movements and anti-Semitic currents that transformed their contact with Jewish life. These changes meant that Kindertransportees had already begun to renegotiate their relationship with Judaism before they arrived in Scotland. Many had already distanced themselves from their Jewish heritage.

Non-Jewish care was not an inevitable problem for the Kindertransportees' Jewish connection. Proselytising was real and 7% of Scotland's Kindertransportees, who responded to the Kindertransport questionnaire, confirm that they now practise a Christian or non-Jewish faith.[313] However, Kindertransportees in non-Jewish homes sometimes found that they had more interaction with a Jewish life. Such environments could also offer more appropriate care for the secular, non-practising Jew.

Jewish care did not guarantee a Jewish affiliation. Nor did it provide certain or an exclusively Jewish experience. The three central concerns of the CREC were that Kindertransportees were hosted in a Jewish environment, had contact with a local Jewish community and received a Jewish education. However, all these central components possessed weaknesses that meant Kindertransportees were not always enveloped within a Jewish environment. Jewish care could be inappropriate and as alien as a non-Jewish upbringing. National and regional Jewish preferences determined the type of Jewish life within Jewish care. These tended to offer strict Orthodoxy or Traditional Judaism. These were frequently imbued with Ashkenazi tendencies and drawn from an *Ostjuden shetl* background, far removed from the Kindertransportees' Jewish heritage.[314] These differences could alienate

[313] KA:QU/SUP.
[314] WL/BL/25.

Kindertransportees or force them to adapt to new 'types' of Jewish orientations. In both cases their relationship with Judaism changed.

The approach to Jewish residential care did not guarantee a Jewish upbringing. Adopting a 'one-size-fits-all' mantra, combined with relaxed and liberal implementation, meant that many Kindertransportees could and did opt out. The role of Judaism in their lives was also affected by the institutionalisation of religion within Jewish residential care. Kindertransportees' connection to being Jewish migrated from the private family sphere into the public communal arena.

The Jewish communities and education services did not always invite a close relationship with Kindertransportees. Community interaction was stagnated by a range of issues: xenophobia, alienation to a different type of Judaism, inward-looking tendencies of local communities, and the limitations for Kindertransportees to interact with them because of their age and circumstance. Jewish education was not able to engage all Kindertransportees because it lacked resources, scope and unity. Education could be of poor quality or alien orientation.

Jewish care was also not exclusively Jewish and non-Jewish influences were active within these care environments. Residential facilities employed non-Jewish staff that inadvertently, or deliberately, challenged the Jewish *status quo* and exposed Kindertransportees to alternatives to Judaism. Non-Jewish local communities encroached on all forms of Jewish life in Scotland and inevitably engaged with their local Kindertransportees on some level: including school, employment, recreation or welfare.

There also existed an important dichotomy between a pious Jewish connection and a secular Jewish lifestyle. Popular recreational activities encouraged Kindertransportees to join local Jewish clubs and youth groups. This form of Jewish care has often been overshadowed by a preoccupation with the religious commitment of Kindertransportees to a Jewish life. Zionist youth groups and Jewish sports clubs promoted a Jewish lifestyle that was often secular, non-pious and even a-religious. This emphasised the political, cultural and social elements of being Jewish.

The emphasis on piety has invited inflated figures for the number of 'lost' Jewish youth to Judaism and these have too often ignored those who chose only to engage in secular, non-pious Jewish pursuits, yet who continue to consider

themselves as Jewish. Figure 3.7. demonstrates the continued presence of Jewishness amongst the Kindertransportees in later life. This shows that there was a slip in Jewish affiliation from 91% to 70%. However, this does not indicate that there was a mass loss of Jewish youth from Judaism. 18% state that they have no religious faith, suggesting theological confusion and uncertainty, rather than conversion to an alternative faith. The non-Jewish contingency has only risen by 4%.

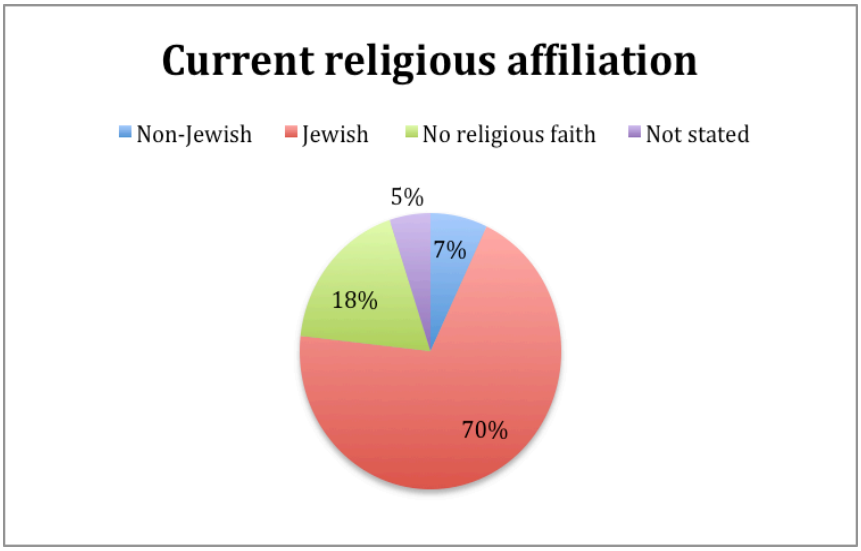
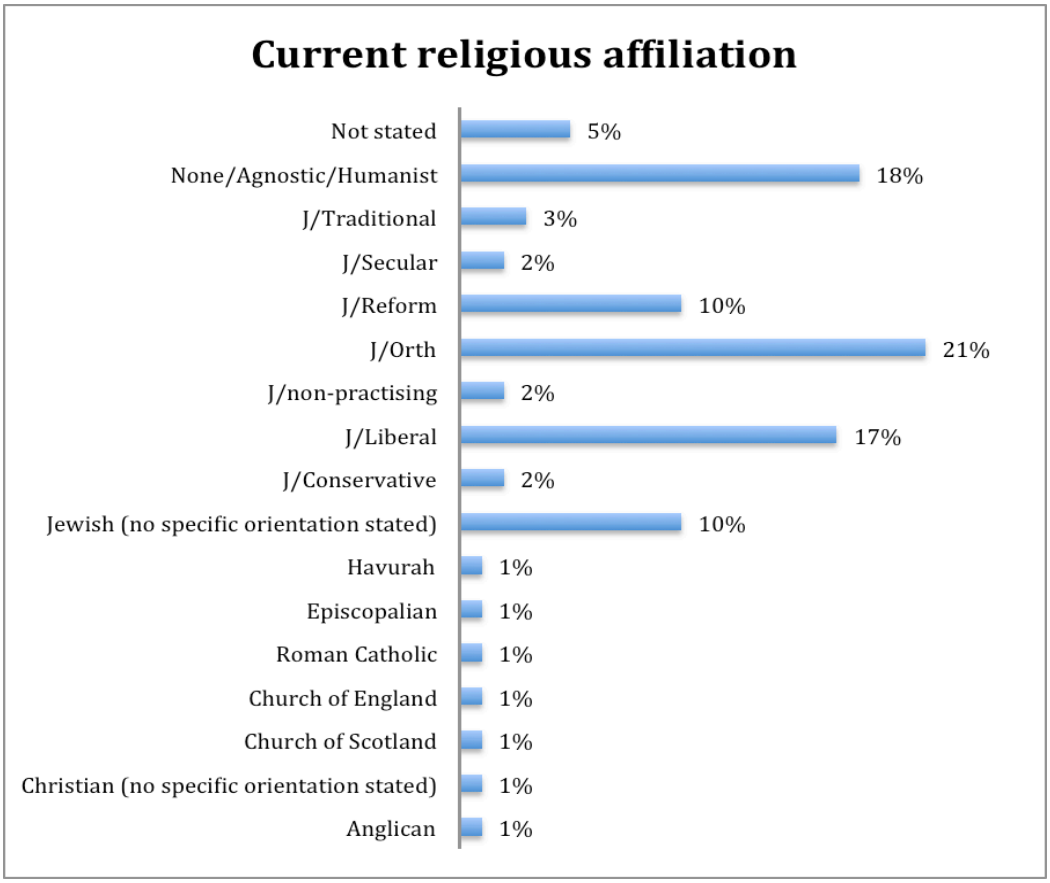


Figure 3.7. Current religious faith

Source: KA:QU/SUP

This suggests that evaluations have tended to put forward too confidently the Orthodox interpretation of Jewish life and disqualify the atheist or agnostic Jew. The whole question of the extent to which Kindertransportees remained in the Jewish fold, or became estranged from Judaism, seems too simplistic to determine. It is not possible to suggest a benchmark for the level of piety Kindertransportees had had and then lost. There was no monolithic type of Jew that they had once been and were no more. In later life (shown in figure 3.8.), Kindertransportees state nine different types of Jewish affiliation: Liberal, Orthodox, Reform, Conservative,

Secular, Traditional, Havurah, non-practising, Liberal/non-practising and Jewish with no orientation.[315]



.Figure 3.8. Current religious affiliation

Source: KA:QU/SUP

Those who no longer state that they are Jewish by religion do not all profess a Christian conversion; amongst them is a Humanist and 18% who profess no religion, including atheists and agnostics.[316] This migration was also not a linear motion away from Judaism. Kindertransportees could adopt greater piety or return to Judaism in later life. 21% of Kindertransportees now state that they are Jewish Orthodox. Of these, only 83% had previously been Jewish Orthodox.[317] Others absorbed additional theologies and incorporated them within their understanding of

[315] KA:QU/SUP.
[316] *Ibid.*
[317] *Ibid.*

Judaism. For some the experience in Scotland was so alien and unfamiliar that it had limited impact on their lives as Jews. After the war, they re-imagined and recreated the Jewish customs and traditions their parents had preferred in Greater Germany.

Fundamentally, Kindertransportees experienced a change in their connection to Judaism under all circumstances. Kindertransportees could drop their pious traditions, but remain connected to certain aspects of a Jewish lifestyle. Some chose to opt out of a Jewish association altogether, while others adopted new Anglo- or Scottish-Jewish religious orientations. Fundamentally, 'estrangement' is the wrong word to use in this discussion. The Kindertransportees underwent a 'change' in their Jewish lifestyles. They experienced a transition from a Jewish life characterised by their Jewish community in Greater Germany and their home lives before migration to one shaped by their position and environment in Scotland.

Chapter Four

Creating new *Olim* in Scotland: The role of Zionism in the care of Kindertransportees during the Second World War

Figure 4.1. Kindertransportees feeding chickens at Whittingehame Farm School
Source: MCPC/Drew, photographs.

The care experience of the Kindertransportees was influenced by a wide variety of social, cultural, economic and political factors. Zionism (an international movement that supported the re-establishment of a Jewish homeland in *Eretz Yisrael*) was perhaps the most significant political influence for many of the Kindertransportees, particularly those who were sheltered in Jewish-led residential care facilities. These facilities often utilised and coordinated their welfare efforts with various Zionist groups. As a result, they endorsed the Zionist philosophy in care agendas. At the forefront of this exploit for Kindertransportees were the pre-*hachsharot* training farms. In Scotland, these included

Whittingehame Farm School, which operated from 1939 until 1941 when it was relocated to Polton House. Both were in East Lothian. According to questionnaires, Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* sheltered an estimated 23% of Scotland's Kindertransportees and it was at these facilities that the Kindertransportees' connection with Zionism was most proactively nurtured.[1]

Returning to the opening photograph, Figure 4.1. was taken at Whittingehame and captures three Kindertransportees undertaking an aspect of their agricultural work. The photograph offers an intriguing snapshot of the experience of living on a pre-*hachsharot* in Scotland. Whilst the central figure seems to be smiling, he also appears to be cold, wearing only shorts and a light jumper, while being surrounded by snow during a Scottish winter. In light of these difficult working conditions, did the Kindertransportees really associate their daily tasks with their future Zionist ambitions? Were these Kindertransportees motivated by Zionism? Their official purpose for feeding the chickens was to become successful *Olim* (those who make *Aliyah*). However, the Kindertransportees' personal interpretation of their daily life and reasoning for undertaking demanding chores is often expressed in testimonies as something completely different.

It becomes apparent, that, despite the presumed pretext for the creation of these agricultural training farms – indoctrination into the principles and objectives of the Zionist movement - the relationship, active role and subsequent influences of Zionism on the Kindertransportees' lives were not complete or all engrossing. In this chapter, I will show that the role of the Zionist movement within Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* was sporadic and limited. The influence of Zionism on the Kindertransportees' lives fluctuated and was heavily dependent upon the time at which they attended the facilities, the strength of alternative influences and the personal preferences of each child towards Zionism.

The *hachshara* movement had emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century in Germany in response to the desires of the Zionist movement for the creation of a generation of Jewish youth suitable for settlement in *Eretz Yisrael*. This was led by

[1] KA:QU/SUP.

Recha Freir's Youth Aliyah, which endorsed rigorous physical and mental training of German-Jewish youth.[2] The central objective of a *hachshara* was to recreate a *kibbutz* and in doing so provide all the necessary training and preparation for Jewish youth before they migrated to *Eretz Yisrael*. The pressures of Fascism and the surge of anti-Semitic sentiment across Germany re-energised and internationalised the *hachshara* movement. Before 1938, *hachshara* training had been reserved for a select few of the most ardent Zionist German-Jewish youth who had for many years worked towards admittance. However, the movement increasingly encouraged all suitable continental Jewish youth to take part in order to enable them to leave Greater Germany. The key aim of the movement by the late 1930s was to relocate *hachsharot* from Greater Germany to temporary host nations in order that Jewish youth could safely continue their preparation for *Aliyah*. Subsequently, by 1939 the *hachsharot* centres had expanded enormously and by 1 March 1940 there were over 2,000 refugee youth in such camps training for *Aliyot* to *Yishvo* (the pre-state Jewish community in *Eretz* Yisrael).[3] Students now included Austrian, Czechoslovakian and Polish youth. *Hachsharot* centres were relocated to a number of countries, including Switzerland, Holland, Belgium and Britain.

The Jewish community in Britain responded to this development and aided the establishment of a number of *hachsharot* and pre-*hachsharot* centres across the country: including Great Engham Farm in Kent, Llandough Castle and Gwrych Castle in Wales, Bydown Farm in Devon, Millisle Refugee Farm in County Down, Northern Ireland, and Polton House and Whittingehame in Scotland. Whittingehame and later Polton House were the only Scottish pre-*hachsharot* in operation during the Second World War. A number of adult education facilities in agriculture had been opened to refugees in the north of England, such as Bachad's centre of learning in Manchester 'to which the agricultural workers in groups dotted over the country are drafted for a few weeks of

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[2] See *25 Years of Youth Aliyah* (London, 1959); Bentwich, *Jewish Youth Comes Home;* Marion Greenberg*, Youth Aliyah under Henrietta Szold* (New York, (no date)).
[3] Bentwich, *Jewish Youth Comes Home*.

concentrated study'.[4] However, the majority remained located in the southern regions of England.[5]

Figure 4.2. Whittingehame Farm School
Source: MCPC/Drew, Photographs.

Figure 4.2. gives some indication as to why Whittingehame was recorded as a prestigious, pioneering endeavour and a model for the pre-*hachsharot* programme in Britain. The grand house and large surrounding estate meant that it was an extremely ambitious plan. The school was reported by the *Jewish Echo* as 'the largest project undertaken' and 'one of the leading experiments of its kind'.[6] Its aim was *Halutzic* (preparing members for emigration to Palestine), but it did not endorse *Aliyah Bet* (illegal immigration), the strategy of the World Zionist Congress in 1939.[7] Instead, Whittingehame adhered to the practices advocated by Youth Aliyah and followed a strategy of enabling students to gain entry to Palestine on the merit of attending recognised educational institutions. The two-year agricultural training programme was designed to enable the residents to qualify for the British Mandatory Government in Palestine's immigration certificate, which favoured agricultural skills and a knowledge

[4] *Ibid.*
[5] See Paul Goodman, *Zionism in England; English Zionist Federation 1899-1929* (London, undated).
[6] *Jewish Echo*, 30 December 1938, 6 January 1939, 17 March 1939 and 24 March 1939.
[7] Rosalie Gassman-Sherr, *The Story of The Federation of Women Zionists of Great Britain and Ireland; 1918-1968* (Oxford, 2006) 55.

of Hebrew. Youth Aliyah disseminated these certificates to youth under 16. The limited immigration quota was allocated based on the presumed 'economic absorptive capacity' of Palestine.[8] The residents were therefore given both practical and cultural training 'to prepare for further emigration overseas, particularly to Palestine'. [9]

Within this Zionist training framework Whittingehame and Polton House were deemed pre-*hachsharot* because the youth admitted tended to be between 14 and 17, below the age of eligibility for actual adult *hachshara* training.[10] The intention was still to fulfil the Zionist movement's key objective of training new *Olim*, but their role as pre-*hachshara* training farms meant that they were to offer the Kindertransportees only an introduction to life on a *hachshara* and in turn life on a *kibbutz* in *Eretz Yisrael*. After completing the two-year training programme, the residents would either transfer to *hachsharot* centres across Britain or have qualified for a permit for entry to *Eretz Yisrael*.

The school had the capacity to accommodate 200 and opened with 160 young people.[11] There were about 40 girls and an additional 12 staff members.[12] The scheme was connected to the plans for the Garnethill hostel in Glasgow. The 30 boys in the hostel of ages 12 to 16 would 'not receive any practical training, but when they reach the age of 16 or 17 they may go on to Whittingehame House to learn agriculture'.[13] In the hostel, the Kindertransportees received Hebrew instruction twice a week and undertook physical training and boxing lessons with Sergeant Major Strathdee. The intention was to begin to prepare the boys for the demands of a pre-*hachshara* and later adult *hachshara* training at an early age. In doing so, the scheme took a long-term approach to the integration of Kindertransportees into the Zionist movement.

Despite these Zionist intentions, Scotland's training centres did not offer a steady, long-term, or clear example of a Zionist influence on the Kindertransportees'

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[8] Erica B. Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project* (Oxford, 2006) 115.
[9] *Jewish Echo*, 30 December 1938, 6 January 1939, 17 March 1939.
[10] *Ibid.* 10 February 1939, 24 March 1939, 31 March 1939; HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5, correspondence of Federation of Women Zionist.
[11] *Jewish Echo*, 30 December 1938.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Jewish Echo,* 24 February 1939.

lives during this preparation experience. Operating as a pre-*hachshara* determined for the most part a diluted form of *hachsharot* training and this weakened the influence of Zionism on the Kindertransportees' daily lives. As a result, Whittingehame has not always been recalled as a Zionist-inspired experience. Kindertransportees also reflect on their time with nostalgia for their extended childhood at a comfortable 'British boarding school', pride in their participation in the British war effort, 'digging for victory' on the home front, or antagonism over being remanded in an isolated 'internment' camp for undesirable 'alien' youth.[14] These centres lacked certainty and clarity as definitive models of *hachshara* life with a Zionist agenda. The role of Zionism in the Kindertransportees' lives within these environments was not always clear-cut and other influences often emerge at the forefront.

This chapter seeks to clarify the position of Zionism within Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* and in turn the extent to which it did touch the Kindertransportees' daily lives. In order to do so, the formation of Whittingehame and the extent that the bureaucratic foundations to the scheme were informed by Zionist principles will be evaluated. This will consider the role of key Zionist personages, benefactors and organisations in the establishment of the residential facility of Whittingehame as a pre-*hachshara*. It will also show that the Zionist movement was involved in the instigation of the scheme and Zionist sympathies did influence those involved in the management of Whittingehame under the jurisdiction of the CC. Nevertheless, although Whittingehame did benefit from ongoing connections with the international Zionist movement, these connections never monopolised or even dominated the project. The bureaucratic involvement of the Zionist movement was sporadic and had limited involvement in the running of the scheme.

Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* and its residents remained under the auspices of the CC not the Zionist movement; subsequently, the daily management and practical application of the project were not totally faithful to Zionist agendas. The extent to which, in reality, a genuine pre-*hachshara* experience was offered was inconsistent and fluctuated over the course of time. The *Halutzic* ideology was diluted within a number

[14] FWPC/Abaigael, Dena, Debbie.

of key aspects of the school. In some areas, there emerged a greater connection to residential institutional care formulas and an adherence to regional preferences rather than *kibbutz* structures.

The practical application of the scheme also afforded a central role for non-Zionist influences. The Zionist youth movements and the groups they formed within the school were the most important source of contact with the residents, but these were not without competition and did not include everyone. Furthermore, regional preferences affected the curriculum and care environment, community peculiarities impacted on cultural indoctrination and alternative priorities of the CC diverted energy away from the Zionist movement's goals.

Subsequently, residents often suggest that the Zionist ideology informing their work was not clear. The practical training often failed to convey the *Halutzic* idealism and inspiration behind the Kindertransportees' work schedule.[15] The indoctrination of residents towards a *Halutzic* ideology was also felt to be lacking. This meant that the Kindertransportees were not thoroughly integrated into new aspirations for manual labouring work. As a result, although the Kindertransportees' post-war settlement choices do suggest a significant level of success for Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* in creating willing pioneers, it is also clear that many rejected these lifestyle choices. In this chapter, I wish to uncover why this pattern emerged.

Zionist foundations

Plans for a pre-*hachshara* in Scotland were rooted in the aspirations of the Zionist movement and were bureaucratically connected to a collection of Zionist organisations and personages of international, national and regional prominence. Nonetheless, the scheme and its residents remained under the auspices of the CC. This meant that the

[15] See Jewish Agency for Israel, webpage detailing the pioneering ideology of Halutziut, http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Jewish+Education/Compelling+Content/Eye+on+Israel/Israeli+Culture/Pioneering+Ideology+Halutziut.htm.

Zionist bodies never monopolised the scheme. Instead, the welfare networks operating across Britain to accommodate Jewish migrants adopted a central and governing role.

The donation of the Whittingehame Estate was prompted by the activities of the Zionist movement. Handler, formerly the leader of Bachad, recalls that it was the joint effort of Hechalutz, Bachad, Habonim and Bnei Akiva, who 'all worked together' to establish Jewish centres for the Kindertransportees.[16] With the aid of key personages, including Chaim Weizmann, Simon Marks and Otto Schiff, Handler recalls that 'we used our political know-how' to acquire funds and resources to establish *hachsharot* in numerous places across Britain, including 'Thaxted … Gwrych Castle … Rosset … St Asser … Whittingehame, all over'.[17] Cohen Stein supports this assertion and recorded in her memoirs that she believed Weizmann 'prompted' the donation of the Balfour estate by Lord Trapain, Lord Balfour's nephew, to the Edinburgh Hebrew congregation for the care of the refugee youth.[18]

Despite the instigation of Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* by the Zionist movement, the bureaucratic management and organisation of the schemes were overseen and governed by the network of philanthropic organisations under the auspices of the CC in London.[19] In Scotland, on a regional level, these included the SNCR and the JCGR, as well as locally based organisations, most notably the local ERC and the GRC. These local committees coordinated efforts with local philanthropic groups and personages to oversee the running of the care scheme and supervise the Kindertransportees in Whittingehame. The pre-existing Jewish representative body, the GJRC, liaised with the regional and local committees to integrate schemes into the pre-existing Jewish welfare infrastructure.

Furthermore, the beneficiary of Lord Trapain's lease of the family estate was the Edinburgh congregation of the Salisbury Road Synagogue. The ERC, consisting predominantly of members from this congregation, in turn presented a proposal to the

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[16] WL/BL/25.
[17] *Ibid.*; SJA/SOC/0002, Bachad Farm brochure, Letter from E. Kritsler of Bachad to Reverand Gamzu, 15 November 1949.
[18] SJA/SOC/0004, Fay Cohen Stein, memoir, 5 January 1995.
[19] Please see appendix 3,4 and 5.

CC in London for approval and financial backing to utilise the estate. The CC then sent representatives from London to assess the estate's suitability and the scheme's feasibility.[20] In December 1938, after the estate had been deemed suitable, a meeting was arranged in London. Numerous representatives of interested parties joined the CC at the meeting to formalise the plan. [21]

Whittingehame was subsequently formulated and founded at a meeting in London under the jurisdiction of the CC. A combination of Jewish, refugee and Zionist-orientated groups attended the meeting and recorded its formulation as a beacon for British Zionism.[22] However, Zionist representatives in attendance only included a small number of members from a limited collection of international Zionist organisations: Habonim, The Federation of Women Zionists of Great Britain and Ireland, Youth Aliyah and B'nai B'rith. Furthermore, it becomes apparent at this early stage that English Zionist organisations dominated the formulation of the scheme, rather than Scottish groups.

Following the creation of the Whittingehame scheme, the role of Zionist organisations became intermittent and often limited. Zionist organisations never monopolised the scheme and other priorities preoccupied their activities. The Jewish migrant pandemic overwhelmed the multitude of Zionist organisations. Eva Michaelis of Youth Aliyah records the precedence for aiding Zionist youths who remained trapped within Greater Germany and in imminent danger.[23] As a result, these non-Scottish international organisations often had limited time or resources to stay in close contact with residents. Handler recalls the logistic problems involved in keeping in touch with the boys and girls at Whittingehame, especially during the Blitz when travelling from London became very difficult.[24]

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[20] *Haddingtonshire Courier,* 9 December 1938.
[21] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5, Minutes of the special Committee.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] Michaelis-Stern, *Children in the Searchlight*; See also Michaelis and Michaelis-Stern, *Emissaries In Wartime London* and *25 Years of Youth Aliyah.*
[24] WL/BL/25.

These preoccupations and logistical problems meant that representatives of the Zionist movement did not challenge the CC's jurisdiction or make efforts to take official control of the scheme. Instead, it remained firmly under the governance of the CC and its representative regional welfare network. Whittingehame became a registered company of the CC's head office in Bloomsbury House, London. The ERC in cooperation with the Edinburgh Hebrew congregation of Salisbury Road Synagogue were the main bodies involved in managing and governing Whittingehame. A small number of local personages dominated these organisations and the leadership of the scheme. Disputes and problems that arose within the school were directed for resolution first to the ERC and then, if necessary, to the CC.[25] The CC authorised supplies and allocated students for Whittingehame, who were then convoyed to Scotland, under the supervision of the ERC. The appointment and removal of staff was dictated by the ERC with final approval from the CC.[26]

The CC and its network of welfare service providers were not, however, devoid of Zionist influences. Zionist organisations utilised the infrastructure and services of the CC to further schemes with Zionist agendas, and actually worked under the guise of the CC to supervise these schemes. As a result, despite the detachment of the actual Zionist movement from many schemes for refugees in an official capacity, Zionism became a governing ideology colouring residential centres such as Whittingehame.

A significant number of organisations of the Zionist movement relocated to Britain and centralised their activities at the CC's head office at London's Bloomsbury House under the umbrella of the CC. Youth Aliyah established its head office there after 1938 and subsequently coordinated its activities with those of the CC. Because the purpose of Whittingehame was to afford the Kindertransportees an opportunity to gain Youth Aliyah certificates for entry to Palestine, Youth Aliyah did remain involved in Whittingehame after it was established. Drew recorded that 'Mr Shattner' led activities

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[25] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 21 August 1939, 25 April 1940, 9 May 1940; FWPC/Levi; Eva and Eli Fachler, *The Vow; Rebuilding the Fachler Tribe after the Holocaust*, (ed.) Yanky Fachler, based on the journals of, (not published, copyright 2003 to Yank Fachler).

[26] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 21 August 1939.

of Youth Aliyah in Britain and also became a governor of Whittingehame, visiting the facility in order to allocate certificates to the Kindertransportees.[27] Handler recalls the utilisation by his organisation, Bachad, of the CC's welfare network and the financial services of the Central British Fund (CBF) to instigate Bachad-inspired schemes.[28] The Zionist and non-Zionist organisations were both working to aid the refugees and inevitably, living in such proximity, their work overlapped with many efforts being coordinated.

Many of the CC's key workers and leaders of sub-committees were also important figures in the Zionist movement. Volunteers and employees frequently worked within a number of different offices and represented more than one organisation. Lola Hahn Warburg worked within Bloomsbury House as a representative for both Youth Aliyah and the RCM.[29] This formed a number of links between the objectives and efforts of both offices.[30] Handler, who at the time was also the leader of Bachad, formed the Jewish Agricultural Committee (JAC) under the auspices of the CC. He recalls his desire to aid the Zionist's objective to support the activities of new *Olim,* while at the same time undertaking the CC's primary objective of establishing self-supporting refugees and self-sufficient agricultural centres in Britain.[31] Whittingehame, along with a number of other Kindertransportee care initiatives, also came under the auspices of the JAC.[32]

Thus, through the guise of a CC's refugee committee, the Zionist movement did have an important governing role in the management of Whittingehame. The extent to which Bachad members dominated the agricultural committee is not clear and the melting-pot character of Bloomsbury House makes it very difficult to pinpoint exactly which office was responsible for certain decisions made, particularly those which may have fallen across the jurisdiction of a number of offices. Nevertheless, the CC was an

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[27] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 25 April 1940.
[28] WL/BL/25.
[29] Oldfield, '"It is Usually She"', 57-70.
[30] Michaelis and Michaelis-Stern, *Emissaries In Wartime ,* Greenberg, *Youth Aliyah under Henrietta Szold.*
[31] WL/BL/25.
[32] HLSC/MS183/289/2/F1.

umbrella organisation encompassing both Zionist and non-Zionist inspired offices. The Zionist organisations did not direct its initiatives, but they certainly had a voice in its activities and a say on leading figures within its infrastructure.

The pre-existing regional Jewish welfare and representative organisations of Glasgow, responsible for managing the CC's initiatives in the region, also possessed a heavily weighted membership of Zionist supporters. The popularity of Zionism amongst its members meant that by 1939 the main governing bodies had pledged support for Zionist rhetoric. The GJRC had publicly endorsed Zionism at the 1918 mass Zionist meeting in Glasgow.[33] The GJRC was responsible for the care of over 200 of the Kindertransportees in Scotland and played a vital role in the direction of Whittingehame.[34]

The local committees responsible for overseeing the day-to-day maintenance of Whittingehame also possessed a close relationship with the Zionist movement. The Glasgow and Edinburgh Jewish congregations of Garnethill and Salisbury Road, respectively, constituted the two dominant Scottish communities involved in the CC's regional refugee welfare network and the Whittingehame scheme.[35] Members of Edinburgh's Hebrew congregation filled the bulk of leading roles within the ERC and Whittingehame's governing board. Both were sympathetic to the Zionist agenda. Rabbi Daiches, the rabbis of Salisbury Road, had pledged his support for Zionism in the 1920s.[36] The Garnethill Synagogue's congregation dominated the GRC, which also aided the Whittingehame scheme. Their minister, Reverend E.P. Phillips, had been a member of the Glasgow Chovevei Zion (an organisation for the financial assistance of settlement in Palestine) and declared his support for Zionism in 1904.[37]

Zionist influences outside of the CC's governing network also played a role in installing *Halutzic* ideology into the foundations of the scheme. This was by way of

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[33] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/2, Letter from Glasgow Jewish Council for German Refugees; Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry*, 10.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Kölmel, 'German-Jewish Refugees in Scotland', 20; See also Kölmel, 'Problems of Settlement', 251.
[36] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 20.
[37] *Ibid.*

giving Whittingehame a status within the realms of activity of the international Zionist movement. Lord Trapain offered the estate as a symbolic gesture to his uncle Lord Balfour's 'Balfour Declaration' of 1917, which endorsed the return of the Jews to Zion. The significance of this connection was not lost and Whittingehame was often perceived as an important symbol of the progress of the Zionist movement. In 1944, Norman Bentwich recorded the significance of this connection in the psyche of Jewish Zionism, which led to Whittingehame possessing 'a peculiarly romantic association'.[38]

Highly positioned personages within the international Zionist movement were directly involved in the scheme. As mentioned previously, Shattner of Youth Aliyah was a governor of Whittingehame.[39] Chaim Weizmann, the leading British Zionist and future founder and President of Israel, was a key figure involved in the founding of Whittingehame. Weizmann had previously visited Glasgow in 1906 to advocate a policy of gradual colonisation of Palestine.[40] Lord Trapain was active in the development of *Eretz Yisrael* into an independent state.[41] Both Weizmann and Trapain adopted a vested interest in the Whittingehame scheme and linked it to their international efforts intended to forward the Zionist movement.

Prominent female Zionists also played a vital role in connecting Whittingehame to the international Zionist arena. They took a leading role in generating financial support for the scheme and a small number offered guidance within the school. Vera Weizmann, Chaim Weizmann's wife, was an important figure and played a central role in the planning and over-see of the school. She advocated that Whittingehame 'should be run like a *kibbutz* in Palestine where, it was hoped, the children would eventually go'.[42] After the school opened, she made a number of inspections, at which time she is recalled as having imposed her will upon both the cook and the governors to remedy the

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[38] Bentwich, *Jewish Youth Comes Home*, 89.
[39] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 14 January 1939.
[40] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 11.
[41] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 14 January 1939.
[42] GJA/SOC/0004 (1995); PL/225, Meir Zev, 'Women in Zionism: An Interview with Dr Vera Weizmann', *The New Palestine,* 21 March 1924.

catering problems there.[43] Her interaction at this time remained restricted to the adult community involved in Whittingehame and she offered little individual connection to Zionism for the individual Kindertransportees, but her presence gave Whittingehame prestige and importance as a pre-*hachshara*.

Whittingehame became a focal point for an incredibly vibrant and internationally active regional Zionist community in Scotland. Collins argues that the 'Zionist movement remained the largest political group in the Glasgow Jewish community'.[44] Support of the scheme became an expression of Zionist commitment and this meant that a particular regional Zionist community informed the Whittingehame scheme.[45] Scotland possessed a particular type of Zionist preference. This did not favour the religious Mizrahi or left-wing Poalei Zion (workers of Zion) groups. Scottish Zionism remained in the most part supportive of the 'centrist general Zionists'.[46] This was an orientation that appealed to the Jewish communities in the diaspora for the reason that it required oral support and financial assistance, but did not demand the disbandment of secular practices or a pledge to migrate. The regional approach to Zionism was not revolutionary or sectarian and as a result Whittingehame adopted a far more secular, liberal and mild approach to Zionism.

Despite the strong Zionist backdrop in Scotland, Whittingehame was never able to cement strong relationships with Scotland's regional Zionist organisations. This was because of the CC's regulating red tape and financial protocol. Regional Zionist branches initiated a successful fundraising effort for Whittingehame. The regional branch of the Women's International Zionist Organisation (WIZO) was critical in the financial support of the school.[47] Members organised fundraising events, such as tea parties, many at the home of 'Mrs John Levinson', and events such as the Whittingehame Open Day.[48] However, because the CC maintained financial control

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[43] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 25 April 1940.
[44] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 21.
[45] See Berkowitz, *Zionist culture and western European Jewry*.
[46] Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry,* 21.
[47] *Edith Eder; in Memoriam* (London, undated); Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry*, 21.
[48] *Jewish Echo*, 10 February 1939.

over the distribution of these funds they were never able to channel these efforts directly into the school. This system weakened Whittingehame's link to Scotland's Zionist movement because it prevented a close financial relationship forming and removed immediate responsibility of Whittingehame from regional Zionist branches.

Zionist organisations' greatest role came through alternative, less bureaucratically orientated means, namely youth guidance and mentoring, religious education and curriculum agendas, and youth group initiation. Bachad was particularly dominant in the pre-*hachsharot* movement in Britain and had established a *hachshara* at Grwych Castle, Wales, exclusively for Bachad Jewish Orthodox Zionist refugee youth.[49] Unlike Bachad's pre-*hachshara* at Grywch Castle, Whittingehame was not under the auspices of any one youth Zionist organisation. In contrast, Youth Aliyah, Aliyat Noar, B'nai B'rith, Mizrachi, Bachad, Habonim, Hashomer Hatzair and the Hechlalutz movement all played a role in Whittingehame. This meant that Kindertransportees at Whittingehame were influenced by a multitude of Zionist agendas and orientations through these informal channels. Each movement held slightly different interpretations and orientations of Zionism and the Kindertransportees had a choice of which group to join.

Despite the variety of orientations of the Zionist youth groups and the subsequent competing nature of their presence in Whittingehame, it was through these youth groups that Zionism had the greatest impact on the Kindertransportees and the character of Whittingehame. Bachad, Habonim and Hashomer Hatzair were the main youth movements involved in Whittingehame. Youth movements developed segregated groups amongst the young people based upon these different Zionist orientations. Stachura underlines in his study that these groups had already been a central political influence for many of the German youth before emigration.[50] Each group possessed a *Madrich* (a Zionist guidance councillor for *Olim*) to provide leadership and guidance to their members. Elijah recalls the important role of the youth groups in their daily lives at Whittingehame and the enormous role this had in indoctrinating the residents towards

[49] HLSC/MS183/50, Bachad Fellowship; SJA/SOC/0002, Brochure and letter.
[50] See Stachura, *The German Youth Movement*.

Zionism.[51] Hechalutz established links with these groups in order to absorb those who had completed the two-year course into their *hachshara* centres across Britain.[52] The power of these groups lay in their ability to indoctrinate the student body by way of integrating Zionism into their daily lives and friendship groups. This Zionist influence went beyond the initial foundations of the scheme and will be discussed later in connection to the way in which Zionism played a role in the young peoples' cultural education and social activities.

In summary, it seems that following the initial involvement in instigating the scheme, Zionist organisations did have some influence on the management of Whittingehame, but that this arrived under various guises. Zionists infiltrated the bureaucratic infrastructure of the CC and operated under the pretext of implementing CC policies. This meant that they never became the guardians or managers of Whittingehame. The bureaucratic involvement of these organisations did not reach the young people on a practical or personal basis, except through youth group initiation and informal channels. It is therefore essential to consider not only the inspiration and initial character of the scheme at its foundations and within its bureaucratic channels, but also how it was managed on a day-day-day basis. Accordingly, attention will now be directed towards the way in which the *Halutzic* ideology was translated into practice and the faithfulness of Whittingehame to a *hachshara* prototype.

Zionism in practice

The reality of Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* was that for many Kindertransportees their care experience was one in which Zionism became overshadowed by alternative agendas and ideas when translated into a practical training programme. Particular characteristics of Whittingehame determined that in practice much of the *Haluz* agenda and *hachshara* formula was absent. The three main factors that need consideration in order to understand the extent to which Zionism was an influence must include the approach to

[51] FWPC/Elijah.
[52] FWPC/Nathan, Ranita, Dena, Elijah.

the daily management of Whittingehame, the environment of care provided, and the physical training and mental preparation given to Kindertransportees.

The management of Whittingehame was not consistently non-Zionist or Zionist in its orientation, but transcended both tendencies in varying degrees. This balance changed over time and this was largely determined by the dominant figures managing Whittingehame on a day-to-day basis. The initial approach to staff selection was in line with the CC's general approach to priorities of care for Kindertransportees.[53] This frequently clashed with the CREC because it gave no precedent to religious affiliation or political aversions over skill and individual suitability.[54] As a result, Whittingehame initially lacked an abundance of Jewish or Zionist staff members. The two dominant figures that emerge in Kindertransportees' recollections of life at Whittingehame are Maxwell, the second headmaster, and Drew, Maxwell's second in command.[55] Neither was Jewish nor Zionist. In 1939, Drew recalls in letters to his parents of his anticipation at meeting a Jew and his mistake upon meeting Maxwell at assuming he was Jewish because of his facial features.[56] Maxwell is alleged to have declared on his arrival that he wished to manage Whittingehame as a model of 'British boarding schools'.[57] The naivety of both perceptions is indicative of the environment of care the teenagers received, which lacked understanding of Judaism or Zionism.

Whittingehame also remained receptive to the contrasting needs of non-Zionist and Zionist-inspired youth in residence. Subsequently, the character of the care environment was highly reflective of the student composition at the time. The students were consistently very mixed in character, faith, ideals and ability, but they do recall feeling a definitive distinction between those who were Zionist and those who were not.[58] Scouting and the ARP were introduced as an alternative to Zionist youth groups,

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[53] MS183/289/2/F1.
[54] WL/BL/25 / HLSC/MS183/344/10, 'The Child-Estranging Movement' (January, 1944); HLSC/MS183/290/F1, Interview and correspondence with Herbert Morrison; HLSC/MS183/53/2/F1; See also chapter three.
[55] FWPC/Abaigael, Ranita.
[56] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 21 August 1939.
[57] *Ibid.*; FWPC/Levi.
[58] WHMA/USC:43932; WHMA/USC:43138.

and Christmas festivities offered an alternative to the Orthodox Jewish celebrations.[59] The strength of the Zionist lobby was felt in 1940 when the students protested against the continued absence of *Madrichem*.[60] Approximately six weeks later the Jewish Agency sent three *Madrichem* for their appropriate youth groups: Bachad, Habonim and Hashomer Hatzair, and Maxwell's position as headmaster was terminated.[61] The CC sent Reverend Bernard Cherrick to replace Maxwell, the non-Jewish headmaster. Cherrick was an active member of the Zionist movement and a leader of Habonim. He encouraged greater religious and Zionist involvement amongst the Kindertransportees. In doing so, he supported the *Madrichem*'s leadership role and the political activities of the residents.[62]

The assorted student composition was largely due to the selection process and criteria for student admissions, which inadvertently diluted the *Halutzic* intensity of Whittingehame. Admittance was not exclusive to Zionist youth as Whittingehame effectively operated an open-door policy. This was largely dictated by the CC, which utilised Whittingehame's accommodation for the surplus of teenage Kindertransportees in Britain.[63] Kindertransportees of the appropriate age and who were willing to migrate somewhere were admitted.[64] They did not have to express any Zionist zeal or even knowledge. A similar liberation of entry requirements only occurred within other *hachshara* centres in the 1950s following the revelations of the Holocaust.[65]

In contrast to Whittingehame, Youth Aliyah's pre-*hachsharot* enforced a tough selection process for admittance and this ensured that all the students were Zionists and sought a Zionist environment. Simmons has noted that applicants considered 'too physically weak for hard manual labour, those with psychological or educational problems, and those who were not committed to the *Halutzic* ideals of Zionism were

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[59] MCPC/Drew, Photographs; *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 6 January 1939.
[60] Fachler, *The Vow*.
[61] FWPC/Levi.
[62] EGPC/Obituaries; *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 January 1989.
[63] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5.
[64] WHMA/USC:43932.
[65] WHMA/USC:43138.

weeded out'.[66] Following the initial scrutinising of candidates, students would then have to pass a period of probation before being completely accepted for *Aliyah.*[67] The acceptance criteria was always linked to the demands of the *kibbutzim*, where only the strongest and most resilient were accepted into communities.[68] Only the urgency of the Jewish refugee crisis post 1945 meant that by 1959 H. Edelston could assert that 'no case was given up as hopeless; every case was taken'.[69]

The Whittingehame policy for admittance did not alter over the course of the scheme and, largely as a result of this, the affiliation of participants to Zionism weakened, particularly in later years at Polton House.[70] This was in part due to the maturation, past the maximum admittance age to Whittingehame of 17 years, of those Kindertransportees who would have been old enough before migration to Britain to participate in their local Zionist youth groups. A number of the first residents actually arrived in convoy with their youth group.[71] In contrast, students arriving in later years were of a very young age when they first migrated and often had no prior experience of Zionism. They may also have been in hostels or foster homes isolated from any Zionist activity for a number of years in Britain. Jacob had been 'shunted around' various care homes for years before Polton House, and Debbie recalls that 'never ever in a lifetime would I move to Israel. When I went to Polton House I had never heard of Zionism.'[72] Subsequently, the surplus of teenage Kindertransportees who were sent to Whittingehame or Polton House in later years had less immediate affiliation to Zionism and demanded less Zionist-orientated care.

A number of later arrivals were psychologically unsuitable to pre-*hachsharot* training and this made the practical application of the scheme even harder.

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[66] Simmons, '"*Persecuted, Uprooted,"'* 120.
[67]Brian David Amkraut, 'Zionist Attitudes towards YA from Germany, 1932 – 1939', *Journal of Israeli History,* vol.20, no.2 (Spring, 2001) 80.
[68] Recha Freier, *Let the Children Come: The Early History of Youth Aliyah*, (London, 1961) 41.
[69] H, Edelston, 'Uprooting and Resettlement, A Survey of the "YA" Program in Israel', *Journal of Educational Sociology* (April, 1959), 398.
[70] FWPC/Debbie, Jacob.
[71] FWPC/Levi.
[72] FWPC/Jacob, Debbie.

Kindertransportees who were fostered or placed in isolated care environments across Britain often integrated into their local community in line with the CC's agenda for 'invisibility'.[73] The Kindertransportees wished to fit in and in some cases to be 'more British than the British'.[74] It is likely that these Kindertransportees presented a challenge to the successful indoctrination of *Halutzic* principles. Their lifestyle expectations already opposed the Zionist preference for greater sectarianism and a manual labouring lifestyle aimed at emigration from Britain.

The management of the selection process also enabled physically unsuitable students to be admitted and led to the need to incorporate alternative training solutions that veered away from *Halutzic* ideals. These often had little involvement with Zionist activities and consequently Zionism played a limited role in the care experience of these Kindertransportees. This particularly occurred amongst the later arrivals because younger Kindertransportees would have been too physically immature to be vetted before migration for their strength and suitability for a pre-*hachsharot* training. Little attention seems to have been given to this aspect in the selection process for Whittingehame once they were in Britain.[75] It was only before the Kindertransportees were accepted onto the Kindertransport that they had to produce a medical certificate from a doctor certifying both mental and physical health.[76] This weeded out those deemed 'not normal' or 'undesirable': Kindertransportees with minor and major disabilities, those with school records of disruptive behaviour, and also those felt to be of ill or weak health who may become a financial burden upon Anglo-Jewry and Britain.[77] These medical predictions would have been difficult to determine for most young children. Elijah who arrived at Whittingehame in the later years and Debbie who was sent to Polton House both found that they lacked the physical abilities needed for

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[73] See also Kushner, 'The end of the Anglo-Jewish Progress Show: Representations of the Jewish East End, 1887-1987', in Kushner, 'The Jewish Heritage', 81; See also Curio, '"Invisible" children', 41-56.
[74] FWPC/Noah.
[75] WHMA/USC:43932.
[76] Curio, '"Invisible" children', 41-56.
[77] *Ibid.*

the training programme.[78] Elijah consequently worked with the gardener for the majority of his stay, while Debbie was found an apprenticeship as a secretary in Edinburgh for the duration of her time at Polton House. As a result, Debbie recalls having little experience of Zionism.[79]

The management of the social structure of Whittingehame was another dilution of the *Halutzic* ideals, due to its failure to disband a social hierarchy in favour of a socialist Utopia. This was largely as a result of the formal dissemination of power, which flowed down from the CC to the ERC, to the Board of Governors, to the headmaster and then to the staff of Whittingehame and Polton House. The students were influential in decision-making, but did not have a formal role within this system other than to be responsive to staff decisions and discipline. This structure maintained clear social distinctions based along student/teacher polarisation and a strict social order. Every morning the Kindertransportees would be gathered as one large group in order to be issued a roll call and were not permitted to leave the estate without permission.[80] The staff structure echoed the usual staff configuration in British or German public or grammar schools; teachers oversaw specific subject areas and some were placed as housemasters in charge of houses (large groups of young people). Jacob recalls the massive difference he found between Polton House and his later *hachshara* training in England.

> [At Polton House] we had a boss … an adult who was in charge and we had to do more or less what he told us to do. On *hachshara* it was more democratic and we were treated as adults. We worked just as hard or even harder. Socially it was similar, except that we knew why we were all together, to make *Aliyah*.[81]

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[78] FWPC/Elijah, Debbie.
[79] FWPC/Debbie.
[80] EGPC/Morning drill and flag poll assembly point, photograph (not attributed); FWPC/Levi.
[81] FWPC/Jacob.

Whittingehame's distinct hierarchy directly contradicted the *Haluz* philosophy. *Halutzic* principles were rooted in the notion of a collective force and the individual working for the group.[82] This element of the *hachshara* was faithful to the Russian influences and Bundist tendencies of the *kibbutzim*. The *kibbutzim* social order was organised within communal units, working for the benefit of the whole community. The youth, in permanent groups of about 30 or 40, acted as a *hevrat noar* (self-governing youth group).[83] Each group would receive the care and guidance of a *Madrich*. Adults overseeing the care of the youth, such as the *Madrich,* were not 'bosses', but referred to as *haverim* (comrades).[84] The foundations to this structure rested heavily on the ideals of creating a socialist Utopia in the form of communes, which, Simmons argues, was unique to the *kibbutz.*[85]

The dissemination of power and leadership of Whittingehame undermined efforts to manage Whittingehame as a pre-*hachshara,* particularly because the CC and ERC gave little real power for administrative and financial decision-making to its staff. This was unlike in *kibbutzim,* where a *Menahel* (director) would lead the 'comrades' as well as direct policy, education and funds. Whittingehame appointed a matron and headmaster, but neither of them directed the policy or funds of the school. This responsibility remained within the jurisdiction of the CC. The general administration and decision-making also remained with the ERC. In contrast, in a *kibbutz* the *Menahel* would also lead a committee of senior staff members, called the *Hanhalah.* The matron, administrative staff and a chief *Madrich* would all be members of the *Hanhalah*. This too was absent.

The management of Whittingehame does not, therefore, appear to be completely in tune with *Halutzic* ideals or the agendas of the Zionist movement. Whittingehame was bolted to the overarching CC agenda for accommodating a surplus of trans-migrant

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[82]http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Jewish+Education/Compelling+Content/Eye+on+Israel/Israeli+Culture/Pioneering+Ideology+Halutziut.htm (June 2009).

[83] Julius Carlebach, *The Future of Youth Aliyah*, Pamphlet No.20, *(*London, December 1968); Simmons, "*Persecuted, Uprooted,"* 115.

[84] *25 Years of Youth Aliyah.*

[85] Simmons, "*Persecuted, Uprooted,"* 115.

youth. This meant that its primary purpose was to accommodate youth as pragmatically as possible. As a result, the CC utilised non-Zionist and non-Jewish regional support, and catered for Zionist and non-Zionist Kindertransportees. This ultimately allowed fundamental characteristics of a *hachshara* centre to be replaced with alternative approaches to care.

Hachshara training

The bureaucratic backdrop of Whittingehame and the way in which Zionist organisations and *Halutzic* ideals played a role in the management of the centre once it opened, were not the only, or the most important, determining factors in the Zionist zeal of the Kindertransportees. The Kindertransportees needed to be trained to adopt the agenda of the Zionists. This required physical and practical introduction to life as a pioneer, as well as psychological preparation of residents to a new type of lifestyle. The Kindertransportees needed to be inaugurated as *Olim*. The environment of care, training programme and educational curriculum were therefore of central importance to the schemes' *Halutzic* zeal.

The environment of care could more readily be tailored to meet requirements of *hachsharot* training, yet it also needed to be partnered with a suitable process of training and educating. This was not easy and a bridging link was not always formed between the philosophical motivations of Zionism and the demands of an agricultural lifestyle in rural Scotland. It could prove difficult to convince the Kindertransportees that the 'pioneering' life was for them. The disparity between their past lives in Greater Germany – for many this had been secular, urban and professional - with the *Olim'*s lifestyle in Palestine – potentially rural, basic and manual labouring - meant that Kindertransportees did not always aspire to become pioneers.

The living environment at Whittingehame did introduce Kindertransportees to aspects of the tough life of a pioneer. Despite the grandeur of the Whittingehame estate, the house was in a poor condition and lacked many of the basic amenities. The contents of the estate had been auctioned off in the early part of 1938, leaving very little if

anything remaining in the house.[86] As a result of the lack of these basic facilities, the *Jewish Echo* launched a campaign to acquire furniture and equipment.[87] The campaign noted that the Kindertransportees 'are without any comforts or luxuries and even without many necessities. The huge house is empty except for beds and a few articles of furniture.' [88] Despite these efforts, the conditions at Whittingehame received limited improvement because of wartime restrictions and financial difficulties of the CC. Kindertransportees' testimonies reflect that they felt a distinct drop in living conditions.[89] This feature of their training experience was in tune with the *hachsharot* intention of the scheme, to toughening youth to a new basic way of life.

Nevertheless, even these physical deprivations were milder in temperament than other *hachsharot* and suggest a less potent form of Zionism was being introduced to the Kindertransportees at Whittingehame. The Whittingehame house was large and impressively built, as well as being set in a well-established estate. Hubbers recalls her shock after attending Whittingehame for two and a half years, until July 1941, when she was sent to Bydown in Devon, an adult *hachshara* run by Bachad and supported by the major *hachshara* pioneers:

> It was so primitive it was unbelievable. I know it was war … but it was just horrific, it was a very very old manor house, there was no electricity, no gas and it was rat infested. So much so that at night we had to keep the lamp burning to keep the rats away … I didn't stay there very long needless to say … I thought if this is what Israel is like I'll give it a miss.[90]

In contrast to the primitive state of Bydown, Bentwich who visited Whittingehame noted that 'the mansion … was set in a beautiful estate of woodland and tilth'.[91] Whittingehame and Polton House were both located about five miles south of

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[86] *Haddingtonshire Courier*, 28 October 1938.
[87] *Jewish Echo*, 31 March 1939.
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] WHMA/USC:43138.
[90] WHMA/USC:43138.
[91] Bentwich, *Jewish Youth Comes Home*, 90.

Edinburgh in a 'flat part of the country' in 'quite a lot of acreage'.[92] Figure 4.3. is a photograph of Polton House. Polton House was a smaller estate, but both facilities were spacious and provided the Kindertransportees with ample acreage in which to live.[93] Polton House is recalled as 'a large physical facility' with classrooms 'upstairs and downstairs' and a large recreational area maintained in the basement for the Kindertransportees' evening leisure activities.[94] Today, the Whittingehame house is a luxury estate comprising about eight apartments. Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* provided the Kindertransportees with better physical accommodation than most *hachsharot* centres could offer.

Figure 4.3. Polton House

Source: *Edinburgh Star*, June 2003.

Despite the comparatively comfortable conditions to be found within Whittingehame and Polton House, their living environment did reflect an approach to the practical running of the physical facility adherent to tough *Olim* survival practices. This intended to maintain Whittingehame as a self-sufficient enterprise. This meant that

[92] WHMA/USC:36790.
[93] Herbert Dryden in the *Edinburgh Star*, June 2003.
[94] *Ibid.*

the facility did not receive a regular maintenance income with which to purchase consumer items. This aspect of the scheme's management connected the Kindertransportees to Zionism in a fundamental way, teaching the rudiments of survival in *Eretz Yisrael* on a *kibbutz*.

Figure 4.4. Maintenance work at Whittingehame Farm School
Source: MCPC/Drew, Photographs.

The school was for the most part a working, self-supporting farm, which raised capital and supplies for its needs. Selling much of its produce - milk, corn and other food stuff - the students were the fundamental cogs that enabled a degree of self-sufficiency. The *Jewish Echo* reported in 1939 that 'the boys will virtually run the house themselves'.[95] Students remember a commitment amongst themselves to succeed in this objective and demand as little outside help as possible.[96] Hubbers recalls that 'sometimes if somebody didn't have a shirt or something well we borrowed from somebody else to give to them'.[97] All the Kindertransportees worked to keep the school operating in a manner that would allow it 'to be self sufficient as much as possible, so that we would not cost the committee a lot of money'.[98] The Kindertransportees were also expected to maintain the facility and regularly worked to repair damage to the

[95] *Jewish Echo* 24 February 1939.
[96] FWPC/Abaigael.
[97] *Ibid.*
[98] *Ibid.*

building and its grounds. Figure 4.4. captures three Kindertransportees fixing what appears to be a water leak at Whittingehame.

Nonetheless, in this aspect too, Whittingehame offered a mild version of a *hachsharot* living environment. It was never 100% self-sufficient, continuing to receive financial support and aid from the CC and its refugee welfare network. In 1942, the school was closed down and was found to have only £775 of debt, which was to be covered by the CC.[99] These reports underline that it was viewed at the time as a great self-supporting financial success, but this overlooked the financial backing it had received from the CC. Whittingehame had initially been provided with a £5,000 guarantee by the CC and benefited from ongoing support from the ERC.[100] Hubbers notes that 'they had to supply us with the necessaries like making sure there was enough money there for going to buy bread and what not', in addition to 'other bits, like Jam and bits and so on' that got sent down from Edinburgh by the committee.[101] The Kindertransportees often received large parcels of donated or acquired clothing. One year all the boys and girls received navy blue shorts and then white shirts for the Sabbath. Another year the ERC sent down bales of navy material for the girls to make themselves skirts.[102]

The living environment of Whittingehame flirted with fundamental aspects of life as an *Olim* and in doing so necessitated an adequate practical training course. This meant that the practical training of the Kindertransportees in agricultural and trade skills remained of paramount importance. The structure of the training programme was based upon the Youth Aliyah model and *Halutzic* principles. This operated a basic philosophy of a 'tripartite education; school-work-leisure'.[103] Recha Freier outlined the fundamental contents of *hachshara* training:

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[99] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, minutes of the Executive of the Central Council, 27 July 1942.
[100] HLSC/MS183/289/2/F1, Consolidated statement of the CC, 31 December 1939.
[101] WHMA/USC:43138.
[102] *Ibid.*
[103] Carlebach, *The Future of Youth Aliyah,*

> It lay in agricultural surroundings and had as its basic idea the division of the day between study, agricultural and social activities in the same proportion as that practised in youth groups in *kibbutzim.*[104]

In Whittingehame, the Kindertransportees spent half their working day undertaking a practical job, which included work in the fields, workshops or communal kitchen.[105] The other half of the day was spent in the classroom, where they were provided with an academic education to matriculation level.[106] The evenings were left for the students to enjoy social activities with a view towards political and cultural indoctrination. The training programme within this system required both practical training and psychological indoctrination in order to create new *Olim*.

Male and female Kindertransportees were included in most aspects of the practical training programme.[107] Practical training ranged from poultry rearing, dairy, fieldwork and market gardening, to chores within the domestic sphere: cooking, cleaning and sewing. Although these roles were not exclusive to particular gender or age groups, fieldwork tended to be dominated by the physically stronger older boys and domestic servicing roles by the girls.[108] New popular approaches to *Halutzic* principles, which tended towards female inclusion in male-orientated spheres of work, were influential.[109] This meant that boys could work in the kitchen, while girls ploughed the field. Figure 4.5. shows a female Kindertransportee helping with manual work in the fields.

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[104] Simmons, '"*Persecuted, Uprooted,"'* 115.
[105] WL:photograph collection, *Young refugees from Germany during their agricultural training in the UK,* 1939-45; Edelston, *Uprooting and Resettlement*, 392.
[106] *25 Years of Youth Aliyah.*
[107] Sarah Malchin, 'The Women Worker in Kinneret', *Hapoel Hatzair* (1913) 11-13.
[108] HLSC/MS116/157/AJ396/5, minute papers, 21 March 1939; FWPC/Dena.
[109]http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Jewish+Education/Compelling+Content/Eye+on+Israel/Women+in+Israel; Rachel Janaith, 'At Work', in Rachel Katznelson-Rubashow (ed.) *The Plough Woman: Memoirs of the Pioneer Women of Palestine*, (Westport, 1976); Maimon, *Women Build a Land*, (Place/date unknown) 23. http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Jewish+Education/Compelling+Content/Eye+on+Israel/Women+in+Israel.

Figure 4.5. Kindertransportees undertaking agricultural training at Whittingehame Farm School

Source: MCPC/Drew, Photographs.

Nevertheless, despite adopting a liberal approach towards gender roles, female Kindertransportees were not provided with the same range of *Olim* training opportunities as their male counterparts. Gender ideals, as well as physical determinants, informed gender ratios within certain tasks. This could mean that Zionism had a lesser role in female Kindertransportees' daily lives as they participated less in agricultural tasks. Drew's photographic archive shows the boys attending to forestry work, refilling the coal shed, driving agricultural machinery and working in the cobbler's shop. In contrast, girls can be seen predominantly in the kitchens and sewing rooms. Edna recalls endless days in the sewing room and Ranita spent most of her time in the kitchen.[110] However, everybody was expected to muck in during harvest time when academic education was postponed.[111]

A common training practice on *kibbutzim* included the hiring-out of a portion of members to work on neighbouring farms or industries, or to utilise their trade skills. This brought in vital revenues of cash for the community. At Whittingehame, residents were not sent to factories, but rather hired out to neighbouring farms.[112] Sidney Bratt

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[110] FWPC/Edna, Ranita.
[111] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 21 August 1939.
[112] HLSC/MS183/50; WHMA/USC:36790; EGPC:Diaries, journals and memoirs; MCPC/Drew, Letters, 25 April 1940.

worked on a neighbouring farm and remembers that the Kindertransportees were not shielded from the rigours of an agricultural labouring life:

> One day I am looking back as after I am picking and I see it is all red back there and I am looking at my hands and I saw that my hands were all cut from the ice and snow and I didn't feel anything because they were all numb from the cold.[113]

Their earnings would then be collected for the common fund. This aspect of Whittingehame elucidates one of its most visible Zionist traits, which defined it as a *hachshara* and not a 'boarding school'.[114]

Nonetheless, this training structure did not ensure that all Kindertransportees' participated with the Zionist aspect of the training programme. This was because Whittingehame adopted a flexible approach to the allocation of chores and would offer alternatives to Zionist training for certain Kindertransportees, male and female. Other than during the harvest, group leaders drawn from amongst the students allocated a work schedule every two weeks on a rotation basis.[115] Levi particularly enjoyed learning to cook and was able to remain in the kitchen for most of his training.[116] Josephina passionately recalls in interviews her dislike of domestic work and undertook fieldwork for her time at Whittingehame.[117] Nathan was already proficient at carpentry, which had been a family business, and was able to develop his skill over the course of his training rather than move into a new trade skill.[118] In addition, because students controlled the roster, the acquisition of chores was often also felt to be responsive and conditional to popularity and friendship groups.[119] Edna, who recalls that she was not part of the popular crowd, felt plagued with the job of darning socks and stuck in an undesired role

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[113] *Ibid.*
[114] FWPC/Josephina, Abaigael
[115] FWPC/Dena.
[116] FWPC/Levi.
[117] FWPC/Joesephina.
[118] FWPC/Nathan.
[119] FWPC/Edna.

because of other peoples' preferences.[120] Figure 4.6. shows the enormity of the job of darning socks. This situation meant that the Kindertransportees were not being given an all-rounded introduction to life as an *Olim*.

Figure 4.6. Mending socks at Whittingehame

Source: MCPC/Drew, Photographs.

The ability of Whittingehame to offer all aspects of *Olim* training and preparation was also hampered by staff shortages and external pressures. The curriculum of Whittingehame was fundamentally responsive to the individuals available to provide instruction and accordingly was not always faithful to previous *hachsharot* strategies. Instead, training was the product of Whittingehame's staff members and the regional helpers who provided their skills in various areas of training.[121] In the domestic sphere the students received instruction from Mrs Laquer, who had previously been headmistress of Frankfurt's Domestic Science College (FDSC).[122] Under Laquer's guidance, the students learnt how to manage a large house, in terms of cleanliness and other required chores. Ruth Fishall, who had previously been a senior staff member of

[120] FWPC/Elijah, Edna, Levi, Dena.
[121] Bentwich, *Jewish Youth Comes Home*, 89.
[122] FWPC/Edna.

FDSC, oversaw training in the sewing room.[123] Drew was proficient at Science and English instruction and was consequently assigned to these roles.

Regional factors and personages played a greater role than Zionism in formulating the curriculum and shaping its character on a daily basis. The Agricultural Committees of Glasgow, Edinburgh and London, along with Professor Shearer of Edinburgh University's Agricultural College, provided advice and a work strategy for successful agricultural practices in Scotland.[124] Local sources - estate workers, neighbouring farmers and friends of Lord Trapain - offered support and guidance.[125] 'Mr Malcolm', Lord Trapain's bailiff, provided the actual instruction in farming, horticulture and poultry keeping.[126] A Palestinian agricultural teacher was appointed to advise the students about the difference between agriculture in Britain and Palestine; however, this did not alter the regional character of the students' agricultural work.[127]

The alternative agendas of the CC were also directing the curriculum, which again meant that participation in practical instruction did not predetermine an active role or connection with Zionism. Emigration was the CC's central objective for the Kindertransportees and this was evident in Whittingehame's training programme.[128] The Kindertransportees were perceived as trans-migrants and only temporary charges. The instruction was not just intended for *Eretz Yisrael,* but was aimed at migration opportunities across the British Empire. The objective was to equip a large number of dependent youths with self-supporting life skills, which could in turn enable emigration. Agricultural and trade skills were assets sought by a large number of potential target countries for migration: Australia, Canada, South Africa and the United States.[129] Britain too sought agricultural workers and such training was linked to wartime priorities to establish a self-supporting nation that could sustain itself with food if

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[123] WHMA/USC:43138.
[124] *Jewish Echo*, 17 March 1939; HLSC/MS116/157– AJ396/5, meeting notes, 21 March 1939, 3.
[125] SJA/SOC/0004, memoir, 5 January 1995.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] *Jewish Echo*, 31 March 1939.
[128] HLSC/MS183/289/2/F1, minutes of the Central Council, 1 May 1940.
[129] *Ibid.* 25 April 1940.

trading links were blocked.[130] Interviewees do not all immediately connect their agricultural training to a Zionist agenda.[131] Many of Whittingehame's students were passionate members of the Scouts and ARP, and many went on to active wartime service for Britain.[132] Figure 4.7. illustrates that non-Zionist groups were vying for and dominating Kindertransportees' enthusiasm at Whittingehame.

Figure 4.7. Scout ceremony
Source: MCPC/Drew, Photographs.

The curriculum at Whittingehame also provided certain privileged training options and this opened alternative work and lifestyle opportunities to Kindertransportees, beyond those normally preferred to suit an *Olim* lifestyles on a *kibbutz*. Kindertransportees were also being trained towards blue-collar employment. Male residents learnt carpentry, mechanics and draughtsmanship. While at Polton House, a small number of female Kindertransportees have recalled being offered white-collar training in the form of secretarial school in Edinburgh.[133] These wider training options enabled Kindertransportees to choose alternative lifestyles to that of a pioneer. Kindertransportees could settle in urban areas and utilise these alternative skill sets.[134]

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[130] See Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare.*
[131] EGPC/Journals; FWPC/Debbie.
[132] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 25 April 1940; MCPC/Drew, photographs; FWPC/Abaigael.
[133] FWPC/Debbie.
[134] FWPC/Edna, Levi.

Education for the pioneer

A bridging link was not automatically formed between practical work and life as an *Olim*. The ability to connect residents to the Zionist ambitions for their future lives demanded a degree of psychological preparation. The Kindertransportees needed to be introduced to a whole new approach to life. A new psychological framework was necessary in order for them to adopt the rudiments of life as a pioneer and settle successfully into their new lives in Palestine. This required attention to a number of specific areas: academic tuition to promote relevant subject areas, political education towards support of Zionism, cultural indoctrination for the adoption of a Jewish Palestinian lifestyle and mental preparation to help them embrace a new approach to daily life.

Academic education was afforded a subordinate position to practical instruction and residents were discouraged from pursuing academic or professional lifestyles. Agriculture and trade skills were perceived as the most important components of the whole preparation process. This approach to the educational process incorporated a form of psychological re-education. This was by way of encouraging students to excel in practical subject areas rather than achieving academic excellence. This educational approach began during the mild selection process in Britain for admittance to Whittingehame. The only requirement of the Kindertransportees was a willingness to migrate and an interest in practical training, rather than academic education. This intended that the majority of students would be receptive to this balance of work and study. Kindertransportees who expressed a desire for academia were usually not sent to Whittingehame. Hubbers recalls that her friend Lotte 'did not want to go … she was more studious and she wanted to go somewhere she could go to school' and as a result she was not admitted.[135]

The emphasis on practical subjects meant that academic instruction tended to be poor, providing only a basic level of education in a limited number of subject areas. Kindertransportees were supported up to matriculation level, or lowers in Scotland. At

[135] WHMA/USC:43138.

Whittingehame, this did not always include the final matriculation exam. Abaigael responded to the question, 'Were you able to carry on with your academic education at all?' whilst at Whittingehame with a 'No'.[136] Academic education was also disseminated along a specific hierarchy of subject areas. This gave weight to subjects that would be of use for the Kindertransportees during their migratory process. Languages were critical for Kindertransportees to adapt successfully into their new environments. This included their immediate location in Britain, requiring English, and later Palestine, where Hebrew would be needed. The Kindertransportees received lessons in 'English, History, *Evrit* (Hebrew), music and mathematics', along with any other subject areas that the staff could cover. [137] The CC's immediate concern for invisibility of trans-migrant youth meant that English was given precedence over the learning of Hebrew. Classroom posters, such as below, used English as the formative language for the translations of Hebrew, indicating that the Kindertransportees were first to become fluent in English. Bratt states that 'none of us spoke any English … all they tried to do was teach us English … we had to talk in English … and we learnt in a hurry'.[138]

Figure 4.8. Poster displaying translation of an English word to Hebrew.

Source: MCPC/Drew, Photographs.

[136] FWPC/Abaigael.
[137] *Ibid.*; NA/ED10/278, 'The problems faced by Jewish 'Kindertransport' refugee schoolchildren', 1943-44.
[138] WHMA/USC:36790.

Hebrew was still a main concern at Whittingehame despite its subordinate position to English instruction. It remained a prerequisite for immigration certificates to Palestine, in accordance with the British mandate, and was therefore an essential component of the pre-*hachshara* training programme. The linguistic success of these teaching efforts is not clear because a significant number of students, especially those from Orthodox families, arrived in Britain with a good knowledge and training in Hebrew.[139] Nevertheless, a Palestinian teacher, Mr Gilboa, taught Hebrew at Whittingehame and Hebrew posters were displayed in the classrooms (see figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9. Hebrew poster

Source: MCPC/Drew, Photographs.

In Polton House, a previous student of Whittingehame called Eli Fachler oversaw the religious environment and Hebrew education.[140] The formal school assemblies at Whittingehame permitted only English or Hebrew to be used and the School's student newspaper included sections written in Hebrew.[141] Debbie attended Polton House with no prior knowledge of Hebrew and confesses in an interview that she can read it fluently.[142] Debbie has no recollection of being taught Hebrew and assumes this could only have occurred at Polton House.

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[139] FWPC/Levi.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] EGPC/School newspapers.
[142] FWPC/Debbie.

Political and cultural indoctrination

In addition to an ability to communicate in their new environments, Kindertransportees were also required to show an affinity to the political and cultural landscape of Palestine. In order to produce a surplus of eager manual labourers, it remained vital to condition the Kindertransportees to the psychological framework that accompanied life on a *kibbutz*. The Kindertransportees needed to adopt the necessary social skills in order to enable self-reliance, integration and progress in Palestine. Fundamentally, this meant that they must first accept new aspirations and lifestyle expectations. A report in 1967 by Julius Carlebach highlighted that the strategy of Youth Aliyah, which was followed by Whittingehame, aimed to 'wean' the students away from 'an academically-oriented, white collar-directed, approach to education'.[143]

This aspect of preparation was critical for Kindertransportees because many had had little or no previous exposure to manual or agricultural work. Elijah recalls that he 'had never been in contact with animals (before Whittingehame) … I was scared of a cow … I didn't even know it was a cow'.[144] A significant proportion of Kindertransportees arrived from urban, secular, bourgeois, professional families with high aspirations for academic progress.[145] 16% had attended a *Gymnasium* with the intention of continuing on to university.[146] In stark contrast, *Halutzic* principles valued rural, labouring-class workers of the land. Simmons points to the initial need to teach the youth to aspire to a completely different way of life to their past aspirations and their parents' ambitions for them.[147] In 1935, the Hadassah organisation of America noted a number of necessary psychological transitions for prospective *Olim*:

> There will be no possibility for them to enter the professions of their fathers … town boys and girls return to the land! Sons and daughters of tradesmen are becoming farmers! High school

[143] Carlebach, *The Future of Youth Aliyah*.
[144] FWPC/Elijah.
[145] KA:QU/SUP.
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] Simmons, '"*Persecuted, Uprooted,"*' 115.

> children wish to become manual workers. Daughters of doctors and lawyers are learning domestic work, infant welfare and sick nursing.[148]

Part of the transition in the Kindertransportees' psyche was their education about the culture of Palestine and preparation for social integration. Permits for entry to Palestine required a 'good knowledge of Hebrew, Jewish History and conditions in Palestine'.[149] Whittingehame did employ both a Palestinian and a *Mizrachi* teacher to instruct the Kindertransportees in the social and cultural aspects of life in Palestine. The intention was to enable the Kindertransportees to integrate into a totally new community. Arie Eflel argued that 'food, living on a kibbutz, farm work, language – everything was different and hard to get used to'.[150]

In order to form a bridging link between manual work and *Halutzic* ideals, it was essential to provide a political education for residents. Youth groups and evening discussions on political matters relating to Palestine were encouraged in order to help connect residents with the Zionist cause.[151] *Madrichem* and their respective youth groups provided an important form of nurture and support for the Kindertransportees towards their new life in Palestine. The role of the youth groups and their *Madrichem* changed over time. In 1940, the Jewish Agency sent three *Madrichem* to Whittingehame for their appropriate youth groups: Bachad, Habonim and Hashomer Hatzair. Following their arrival, *Madrichem* became central to recollections of Zionist experiences.[152]

The Kindertransportees relied heavily upon their *Madrich* and youth group, and these social circles effectively became their support networks. This established strong friendship ties rooted in political affiliation and developed lifelong bonds for the residents with Zionism.[153] Deborah reflects that the *Madrich* 'understood our problems

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[148] PL/RG1/B 21/F130, HWZOA, *Hadassah and YA* (1935).
[149] HLSC/MS183/289/2/F1.
[150] Arie Eflel, 'The First Youth Group', in Meir Gottesman (ed.) *Out of the Fire* (London 1979) 24.
[151] FWPC/Edna.
[152] *Ibid.*
[153] FWPC/Levi, Elijah, Nathan, Edna, Jacob.

… they were really our pilots, they guided us through many hardships'.[154] Within their youth groups the Kindertransportees formed *Gi'van,* or family groups, and many of these went on to adult *hachshara* training together. Kindertransportees recall feeling dependent on their group and as a result rejecting non-Zionist opportunities, such as work or education in Britain, for fear of leaving this support network.[155] These groups took a significant number of Whittingehame's students to Israel.[156]

Kindertransportees were also taught to celebrate Jewish culture and being Jewish per se. This focused on the learning of all aspects of life in the *Yishvo*, fundamentally Hebrew, Jewish traditions, customs and practices.[157] Jewish dances, songs and other forms of cultural celebration were also taught. A regular feature in the Kindertransportees' social activities was the *Hora* dance and many recall being exposed to Yiddish songs for the first time.[158] Elijah remembers that 'there was a lot of dancing in the evening, mostly Israeli dances, Palestinian dances or Jewish dances', while Jacob reflects on being first exposed to Yiddish at Polton House.[159]

Despite these progressive steps, Whittingehame's approach to the students' acquisition of Palestinian culture was not coupled with efforts to sever their attachment to continental preferences or British tendencies. Training by Youth Aliyah promoted the severing of all links with the past in order to 'assume an entirely new physical and spiritual foundation'.[160] This, it was felt, would enable the Jew who had been living in diaspora to disband their past affiliations and fully ingratiate him/herself with life as a pioneer. This concept formed an important symbolic construct about the correct type of Jew. The 'superior' Jewish pioneer, or *Olim*, and the 'inferior' diaspora Jew emerged as

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[154] WHMA/USC:43932.
[155] FWPC/Elijah.
[156] FWPC/Nathan, Edna, Ranita, Elijah, Dena, Benson; KA:QU/SUP.
[157] HLSC/MS183/344/10, *The Child Estrangement Movement'; An Expose on the alienation of Jewish Refugee Children in GB from Judaism*, Pamphlet, January 1944; *25 Years of Youth Aliyah (*1959); FWPC/Baisha; http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Jewish+Education/Compelling+Content/Eye+on+Israel/Israeli+Culture/Pioneering+Ideology+Halutziut.htm.
[158] FWPC/Ranita; MCPC/Drew, Letters, 25 April 1940.
[159] FWPC/Elijah, Jacob.
[160] Arie Appel, 'One year at Ein Harod', in Gottesman (ed.) *Out of the Fire*, 31.

direct contradictions to one another. The students at these centres were encouraged to cut ties with both their parents and the secular Germanic diaspora habits, rituals and customs of their past lives. The underlining endeavour of other pre-*hachsharot* centres was to create a generation of the 'new Jew'.[161]

This formed a dichotomy between two lifestyle options. However, it was not easy to convince a surplus of trans-migrant youth, many from secular, urban, privileged backgrounds, that an agricultural, manual labouring pioneering lifestyle was preferable. Ben Halpern and Shalom Wurm argue that the whole mind-set and 'the mentality of the Jews in Germany' worked against this transition and that most viewed agricultural work as 'unskilled labour', preferring instead to learn a trade.[162] The Kindertransportees also continued to express cultural affiliations with their past lives. They were not forbidden from using German, as was the case in many hostels, such as Willesden Lane, London.[163] Subsequently, the German language was maintained within the school, despite efforts to teach English and Hebrew. The students formed a newspaper, which, along with their school journals, was predominantly written in German.[164] The *Jewish Echo* recorded on 24 March 1939 that, 'on the evening of Saturday last, a simple but impressive ceremony' was held at which 'a number of musical and other items' were 'rendered in Hebrew, German and English, by the pupils'.[165] The Kindertransportees' continental roots were also supported by a heavily weighted staff composition of Germans and Austrians. The matron was herself German, as was the cook, Miss Strauss. As a result, the customs, daily rituals and catering at Whittingehame strongly resembled the Kindertransportees' German-Jewish traditions.

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[161] PL/RG1/B21/F130, (1935), 132.
[162] Ben Halpern and Shalom Wurm (eds), *The Responsible Opinion: The Life and Times of Giora Josephthal* (New York, 1966) 95-96.
[163] HLSC/MS183/384, booklet, CBF, *Bloomsbury House; The care of German and Austrian Refugees* (London, 1942).
[164] EGPC/*Iton Reidah,* school newspaper, 20 April 1941; EGPC/Journals and school newspapers.
[165] *Jewish Echo*, 24 March 1939.

Conclusion

Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* centres were established in accordance with the Zionist movement's objective to prepare a new generation of *Olim* to make *Aliyah.* However, in the process of managing the scheme much of the Zionist agenda and *Halutzic* philosophy was lost. This was the result of a number of determining factors.

The intended nature of a pre-*hachshara* was not to offer adult *hachshara* training, but to provide an introduction to the process of preparation. This was linked to Youth Aliyah's training programme, which catered for Zionist youth who were not yet deemed old enough to undertake actual adult *hachshara* training. This meant that the programme and approach to the management of the school was milder and in a diluted form to the adult *hachshara* centres.

Zionist organisations played an important role in the bureaucratic supervision of Whittingehame and Polton House under the guise of the CC. They infiltrated the refugee welfare infrastructure in order to further schemes with a Zionist agenda. However, the Kindertransportees remained under the auspices of the RCM, which responded to mainstream refugee care protocol directed by Anglo-Jewry. Furthermore, the practical application of the scheme was disseminated to regional and local committees. These committees relied heavily upon regional aids and were responsive to numerous external influences.

As a result, the care environment and training programme were often more reflective of Anglo-Jewry's criteria for refugee care in Britain than the Zionist movement's objectives. Whittingehame adhered to regulations for the care of trans-migrant minors in Britain. This prioritised self-sufficiency and invisibility. It intended for them to integrate as discreetly as possible, to acquire immediately the English language and to learn British social preferences. This also dictated that they were migrants in transit and any form of further migration was sought.

In practice, residents were also offered alternative training options to suit physical inabilities or gender preferences. These included non-Zionist options and skills not usually associated with a pioneering lifestyle. Kindertransportees were also able to

opt out of or participate with non-Zionist extra-curricula activities. The introduction of students to Palestinian and Jewish culture was not universally enforced or subsequently experienced. There was no attempt to dislocate the students from their previous cultural affiliations and efforts to change their psyche were limited.

Fundamentally, practical participation in the training programme was not synonymous with inauguration into a pioneer's lifestyle. A bridging link was not automatically formed between the gruelling chores and agricultural labour they had to perform, and *Halutzic* ideals or the Zionist movement. Some Kindertransportees felt that they had little or no contact with Zionist activities during their training. This formed a dichotomy between the tough pioneer lifestyle and past lifestyle preferences in Greater Germany. This made it difficult to convince all Kindertransportees that the life of a pioneer was preferable to their previous lifestyles in diaspora.

Nevertheless, Whittingehame's Kindertransportees' migratory patterns do suggest that the Zionist aspirations for making *Aliyah* were translated with some success: 40% made *Aliyah*, compared to 34% who chose to remain in Britain and 20% who went to the USA; 45% of these stated 'Zionism' as their main reason for migrating to Israel.[166] The establishment by Scotland's refugee youth of their own *hachshara* training camp in Ayreshire in 1945 is also suggestive of a successful connection being formed between students and Zionism.[167] Furthermore, the overall statistic for *hachsharot* centres in Britain does suggest that in unison they were initially successful in integrating the youth into agriculture. A 1944 report of the War Committee recorded of the British refugee *hachshara* students: 'all have now finished their youth training and passed into the groups of *Haluzim*, of whom over 1,000 are taking part in food production under the County War Agricultural Committees'.[168] However, in respect to Whittingehame only 15% who made *Aliyah* chose to settle in a *kibbutz.*[169] Although this

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[166] KA:QU/SUP.
[167] HLSC/MS183/50, Bachad Fellowship, 68; *Glasgow Herald,* 'Glasgow Bnei Akivah Camp', 20 July 1945; See also *Sunday Mail,* 25 July 1945, 'Jew Refugees planning a new Palestine'.
[168] See Bentwich, *Jewish Youth Comes Home*.
[169] KA:QU/SUP.

is not representative of the total proportion of those who migrated, it does give some indication of the preference for utilising non-agricultural skills and the failure to prepare the students psychologically.

Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* did form a connection between the students and Zionism, but Zionism's presence or relevance was not consistent or universal. Zionism played an important role in the daily lives of many of the Kindertransportees, particularly for those involved in a Zionist youth group, but many could opt out of this association. For members, Zionist social circles did provide a bond to Zionism that could prove more important and longer lasting than any provided from the actual training programme. However, the extensive influence of the youth group for nurturing Kindertransportees was also true for members of the Scout groups within Whittingehame.

Fundamentally, Whittingehame and Polton House were not catering for ardent Zionist youth, but for Jewish youth trans-migrants who themselves varied massively in their perception of Zionism. The individual response to the process of preparation was the ultimate determining factor in the role of Zionism in their day-to-day lives in Scotland. To return to the opening photograph, it seems possible that the aforementioned Kindertransportee attended to the chickens in the cold Scottish months under sufferance.

Chapter Five

The legacy of a Scottish upbringing: Residential care and life after welfare

> My whole world was only a machine. There was no sun, no nature – no happiness … music was always my refuge – support – and friend. It had become intolerable. The great emptiness and loneliness crushed me. There were always tears … there is no real life any more in me …
> [I have a] hysterical mental illness, which is like a cancer of the brain, heart and soul … it decays my inside and I cannot stop it. I know happiness comes from inside and from nowhere else. In this illness – all happiness from outside cannot touch your inside.[1]

In 1946, James Clyde, along with a number of colleagues, produced the 'Report of the Committee on Homeless Children' (Clyde Report) for Scotland.[2] This, along with its English and Welsh counterpart entitled the 'Report of the Care of Children Committee' (Curtis Report) chaired by Dame Myra Curtis, offered a critical evaluation of the standard of care being provided for children in British welfare facilities and conceded errors were being made in approaches to the nurture of the deprived child.[3] The Clyde Report's criticism included opposition to the placement of deprived children in Poor Law institutions, the large size of residential facilities, their reliance on voluntary and untrained staff, the lack of inspection and the 'uniformity, the repression, the impersonality of these cold and forbidding abodes'.[4] The Curtis Report came to similar conclusions.

These reports, as Hendrick argues, represented the culmination of a growing shift in thinking about the needs of a child and what constituted health and well-

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[1] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 16 May 1943.
[2] House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (HCPP):Scottish Home Department, 'Report of the Committee on Homeless Children' (Clyde Report), *Parliamentary Papers*, 1946, Cmd. 6911, vol.X.755.
[3] HCPP/Home Department, 'Report of the Care of Children Committee' (Curtis Report), *Parliamentary Papers*, 1946, Cmd. 6922, vol.X.559.
[4] Holman, 'Fifty Years Ago', 204; Clyde Report, 15.

being.[5] Both reports outlined that their key objectives were to rectify the inadequate substitution of a normal family and home life currently being provided for children in care:[6]

> The lessons, which above all else the war years have taught us is the value of home. It is upon the family that our position as a nation is built, and it is to the family that in trouble and disaster each child naturally turns. It is the growing awareness of the importance of the family, which has largely brought into prominence the problem of the homeless child. How then is the family to be re-created for the child who is rendered homeless?[7]

The growing body of research on these issues – including that done by John Bowlby, Susan Isaacs, James Robertson, Mary Ainsworth and Anna Freud – argued that nurturing experiences during the formative years of childhood had a long-term impact on physical and mental well-being.[8] They argued that it was imperative to care not only for the physical needs of the child, but also for its mental and emotional requirements in order to avoid deficiencies and future problems for society, such as juvenile delinquency or psychological weakness. They criticised popular approaches for focusing only on physical needs and adhering to John Watson's Behaviourism theories.[9] 'Behaviourism' focused on managing and controlling the minor through regimentation, routine, discipline and punishment.[10] They prescribed new preventative approaches to tackling deprivation and depravation, which included more sympathetic care of the individual's emotional needs. In doing so, they drew light on the common features that an institutional upbringing, between 1938 and 1945, was likely to include and highlighted the common emotional responses of individuals placed in these care scenarios. These findings have been echoed in Kindertransportee testimonies.

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[5] Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: Historical dimensions, contemporary debate* (Bristol, 2003) 133.
[6] HCPP/Clyde Report, 3.
[7] *Ibid.* 14.
[8] David Howe, Marian Brandon, Diana Hinnings and Gillian Schofield, *Attachment theory, child maltreatment and family support; A practice and assessment model,* (New York, 1999) 13.
[9] Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 140; See David Cohen. *J. B. Watson: The Founder of Behaviourism: A Biography* (London, 1979).
[10] Urwin and Sharland, 'From bodies to minds', 180.

The opening quotation is a personal letter from a Kindertransportee in Scotland, written to a confidant during the war years, describing her melancholic feelings whilst seemingly suffering from depression. The individual emotional repercussions of life in Scotland as a trans-migrant during the war years are an important part of the Kindertransport story, yet they continue to attract limited historical attention. Kushner has argued that this has largely been due to the desire to limit the presence of 'trauma' and other problematic issues in favour of a predominantly celebratory grand narrative of the Kindertransport.[11] As discussed in Chapter One, this has meant that histories of the Kindertransport have focused on refugee organisations' 'heroism' and achievements at the expense of research into the personal issues and problems potentially afflicting the Kindertransportees during this time.

When historical studies have addressed these issues, they have tended not to use oral history, but rather, such as in Turner's *When a Policeman Smiled,* they have focused on the official records of the refugee organisations, which detail Kindertransportees' certified medical conditions. The trend amongst researchers to base discussions upon official reports has meant that the Kindertransportees who suffered mild depression or experienced problems silently have not been highlighted. Instead, a picture is drawn in which a small number of extreme cases are mentioned, while the general consensus of a positive migration experience is reiterated. Collections of Kindertransportees' personal testimonies have been published, yet even these edited compilations offer the same balance of stories.[12] As Kushner has argued, this follows a 'happy ending' narrative.[13]

The trend to exclude individual experiences and emotional responses of Kindertransportees from historical evaluations has led to a division to form between psychological studies and historical research about the episode. Psychoanalytical studies, such as Dorit Whiteman's *The Uprooted,* strive to evaluate the Kindertransportees in adult life, whilst reflecting upon their experiences as child

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[11] Kushner, 'The Kinder: A Case of Selective Memory?', 152.
[12] See Leverton and Lowensohn, *I came alone*; WL/1368/2/1, Notes, letters and memoirs collected for Bertha Leverton's publication 'I came alone', 1989-2000.
[13] Kushner, 'The Kinder: A Case of Selective Memory?', 145.

refugees.[14] This removes evaluations from their historical context. Iris Guske, a linguist, has produced the book *Trauma and attachment in the Kindertransport context* and emphasises that her evaluation excludes consideration of the event.[15] Instead, she is specifically concerned with the 'psychological aspect of trauma and attachment or separation theories for the migrant child'.[16] Ruth Barnett has also produced a psychoanalytic study about the Kindertransport.[17] Yet this draws heavily on her own experiences as a Kindertransportee and over looks the broader picture. This tendency has separated research on the personal experience from evaluations of the historical event. Ute Benz and Kröger have shown that a fundamental difference exists between the 'event' and the 'experience'.[18] Yet, it remains important to try to bridge this gap as both elements complement and strengthen one another. Together they can form a more insightful evaluation of the episode.

This chapter is especially concerned with the experience, or in other words the response, of the Kindertransportees to the event. In doing so, I am not seeking to produce a psychohistory of the episode. I am not intending to analyse the Kindertransportees' state of mind during the period. Tosh describes psychohistory as the 'study of the psychological motivations of historical events'.[19] Geraldine Clifford has argued that psychohistory requires an equal measure of both psychoanalysis and historical research.[20] The significant role of psychoanalysis in such evaluations, as Robert Schulzinger argues, would therefore require psychoanalytic tools and vocabulary.[21] As Robert Brugger highlights, this places

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[14] See Whiteman, *The Uprooted*.
[15] Iris Guske, *Trauma and attachment in the Kindertransport context: German-Jewish child refugees' accounts of displacement and acculturation in Britain* (Cambridge, 2009).
[16] *Ibid.* 10.
[17] Barnett, 'The Other Side of the Abyss', 178-194.
[18] Kröger, 'Child Exiles', 8-20; See also Ute Benz, 'Traumatization through Separation'.
[19] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 290.
[20] Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, review of Sudhir Kakar, 'Frederick Taylor: A Study in Personality and Innovation', *History of Education Quarterly,* vol. 11, 4 (Winter, 1971) 413-425.
[21] Robert Schulzinger, review of Jacques Barzun, 'Clio and the Doctors. Psycho-History, Quanto-History, and History', *History and Theory*, vol.15, 1 (February, 1976) 94-103.

emphasis upon diagnosis and Freudian theories of the unconscious mind.[22] Tosh has highlighted the pitfalls and problems afflicting historians who attempt 'psychohistory' due to these extensive methodological demands and potential weaknesses. Tosh highlights that limited records, particularly the lack of personal sources that record the subject's state of mind at that past moment in time, hinder the ability of the historian to evaluate the psychological history of an episode.[23] Accordingly, this study will exclude unqualified psychological assessments, terminology or diagnosis. Instead, utilising oral sources, personal letters and diaries, I wish to consider the life histories that the Kindertransportees have themselves constructed and place these findings within the context of the broader social, political and economic climate of the 1940s.

This intends to show that a wide array of unpredictable and complex reactions existed amongst the Kindertransportees to their circumstances. Ute Benz and Kröger both stress that the individual's reactions to an event are fundamental to determining the event.[24] Kröger also points to the unpredictability and diversity of these individual reactions.[25] She attributes this to a range of influences, including pre-migration experiences in Greater Germany, such as early socialisation, exposure to stigmatism, community of origin, family dynamics, age of migration and even conditions of departure and transportation.[26] Tydor Baumel has also shown that a wide variation of experience existed within one care scenario, such as foster homes in Glasgow.[27] Foster homes varied in religious orientation, financial circumstances and family dynamics, within which Kindertransportees could either be adoringly loved or tolerated as an inconvenience. Wuga recalls that he was 'well treated' in his foster home, but that 'some of my other friends they did not have this'.[28] The different care scenarios, geographic locations and environments, along with

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[22] Robert J. Brugger, review of Jacques Barzun, 'Clio and the Doctors: Psycho-History, Quanto-History & History', *The Business History Review*, vol. 49, 3 (Autumn, 1975) 362-364.
[23] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 288.
[24] *Ibid.* 13; Benz, 'Traumatization through Separation', 86.
[25] Kröger, 'Child Exiles', 11.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee', 176.
[28] WL/BL/74.

programme agendas and objectives of care placements, led to very different experiences. The previous three chapters have hoped to demonstrate that these issues were especially true within residential care schemes.

The focus of this evaluation is residential care, rather than foster care. This is largely for the reason that it emerges as the predominant form of care for Kindertransportees. This was largely due to the important role played by Calvinism and Environmentalism in shaping the approach to child-care services in Scotland during this period. In addition, although the benefits of the family unit as opposed to residential care continued to be debated, a child-centred-family approach to remedy social problems only arrived post-war with the 1948 Children's Act.[29] Prior to this, priority was not given to maintaining the family unit over seeking the removal of the deprived child.[30] This was true despite, as Cunningham and Abrams argue, Scotland's long-standing preference for use of foster care or boarding out rather than institutional facilities.[31] The CC also prioritised foster care for all Kindertransportees. Yet, in both instances the number of homes available was always limited. This led to the prevalent use of residential care rather than the family unit.

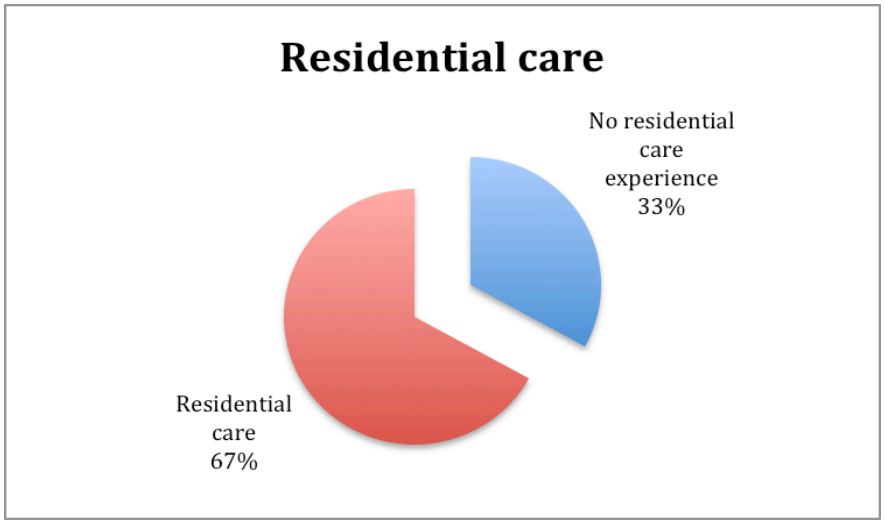

Figure 5.1. Residential care

Source: KA:QU/SUP

[29] Anne-Marie Ambert, 'An International Perspective on Parenting: Social Change and Social Constructs', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, vol. 56, 3 (August, 1994) 529-543.
[30] Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 136.
[31] Cunningham, *Invention of Childhood,* 194; Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 2, 20,

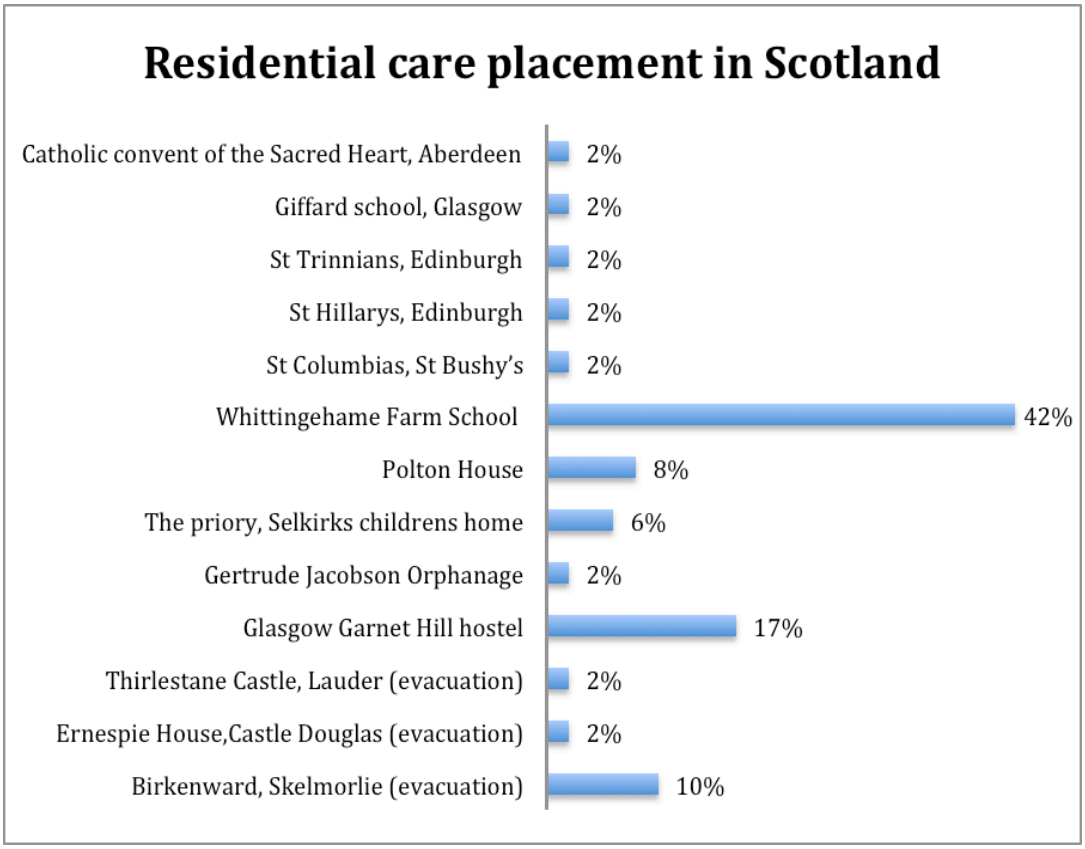

Figure 5.2. Residential care placement in Scotland

Source: KA:QU/SUP

Subsequently, at some stage, the majority of Kindertransportees experienced residential care in Britain. Figure 5.1. shows that only 33% had no residential care experience. This figure mirrors those found within wider Scottish child welfare trends. In Scotland, in 1949, only 35% of Scottish children in care were in private foster homes.[32] Cunningham has recorded 275 institutions for homeless children and youth in Scotland in the inter-war years.[33] The residential facilities into which the Kindertransportees were placed in Scotland were diverse. Figure 5.2. displays an array of residential facilities recorded to have been used for Kindertransportee care in Scotland. These included trans-migrant hostels, British boarding schools, Catholic convents, voluntary or state-led children's homes or orphanages, evacuation centres and Zionist-inspired pre-*hachsharot* training farms.[34]

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[32] Thoburn, 'Trends in Foster Care and Adoption', 121.
[33] Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood,* 192.
[34] *Ibid.*; See also Turner, ... *And the Policeman smiled*'.

The objective for this chapter is to consider the impact for Kindertransportees of spending their formative years in these residential facilities. What was the legacy of a childhood or adolescence in care? The aim is to highlight a number of key issues that have arisen in Kindertransportees' testimonies concerning the personal experience and perceived repercussions of life in residential care in Scotland. In revealing the Kindertransportees' experience of a residential upbringing in Scotland, I am not seeking to assess the success or failure of the residential care schemes. Nor do I wish to criticise the findings of the Clyde Report. Instead, I hope to connect the Kindertransportees' experiences to those of the Scottish child in care. This seeks to show that Kindertransportees' personal narratives do not automatically connect their experiences to their circumstances as Kindertransportees, rather they link them to wider issues afflicting all children growing up in residential care homes in Scotland during this period. It will be argued that these findings closely mirror those reported in the Clyde Report, recorded in evacuation reports and exposed within publications by researchers linked to the Child Guidance Movement.

These evaluations seek to show that personal narratives are complex and revealing. Murphy has shown the important role of personal narrative for enabling the individual to make sense of their life histories.[35] It will be shown that Kindertransportees use their experiences of residential care to construct their personal narratives. In doing so, they attach far-reaching ramifications to this particular life event and use the episode to explain their unfolding life stories. The life histories that emerge often emphasise suffering, perseverance and survival. These personal narratives reflect a close relationship with public narratives and popular historical consciousness.[36] They echo dominant Holocaust narratives, concerned with Jewish survival and victimhood, as well as popular Kindertransport narratives, which emphasise endurance and achievement. However, they more often reflect significant parallels with British public narratives that relate to the Scottish deprived child in care. Kindertransportees often reiterate popular themes or ideas about the deprived child's life in institutional care. They use these features to

[35] Murphy, 'Memory, Identity and public narrative'.
[36] *Ibid*. 307.

explain the experience of growing up in residential care and the implications this had upon broader life stories.

Residential facilities are felt to have provided an environment and upbringing that invited a form of institutionalisation. This has led Kindertransportees to express a sense of having lost their connection with a 'normal' life or familial environment. This not only refers to their bereavement at having been separated from their biological family, but also refers to a broader feeling of having missed out on a type of lifestyle that includes variables found within a family-based environment. Their subsequent upbringing is recalled as having possessed certain reoccurring characteristics. Kindertransportees argue that collective care replaced individual nurture, whilst psychological needs were neglected in favour of physical requirements. Kindertransportees often stress negative emotional implications from this type of residential upbringing.[37] They argue that residential care invited a range of psychological problems and that these have impacted on their post-war lifestyles.

Kindertransportees' experiences of residential care introduced a new connection to and understanding of elements of their lives before migration, it renegotiated the immediate role of these features in their lives during the war, and impacted upon how these would be translated or understood in later years within the context of broader life stories. These points will be highlighted in this chapter through three sections; these deal with, firstly, growing up in an institutional environment, secondly, the experience of nurture within a residential facility, and, thirdly, implications of residential care upon broader life stories.

Growing up in an institutional environment

The Clyde Report concluded that prior to 1946 too much emphasis was placed upon removing the deprived child from dysfunctional homes and placing them in 'approved schools' or other institutions.[38] This meant that impersonal, institutional

[37] Kröger, 'Child Exiles', 18.
[38] Holman, 'Fifty Years Ago', 204; Hendrick, *Child Welfare,* 124.

environments dominated deprived children's care experiences.[39] Kindertransportees recall similar environments and remember that this care environment represented an introduction to a completely new lifestyle and led to a degree of culture shock. The Kindertransport Association's 2007 questionnaire suggests that few Kindertransportees had any prior experience of residential care before they migrated to Britain.[40] None state that they boarded at school and only one had experience of a Jewish orphanage.[41] The majority had lived in a private nuclear family environment. Most of these had been small family circles: 22% of Kindertransportees had been only children.[42] These points are also a reflection of the Kindertransportees' higher social class and wealth compared to Scottish children in care. The Scottish child in care usually came from Scotland's urban working classes and prior to residential placement had often already experienced a home environment that was overcrowded and lacked necessities.[43] In contrast, although Kindertransportees did come from a cross-section of socio-economic types, many were from middle-class families. This meant that most Kindertransportees remember adapting to a completely new physical living environment. Ruth Jackson recalls her shock at the boarding-school dormitory life and her first night spent in 'floods of tears':

> I had to go to bed in this forlorn dormitory, and I couldn't go to sleep, and I just lay there under the bedclothes sobbing away and thinking why on earth did I have to come here.[44]

A key objection raised by the Clyde Report was that residential facilities primary concern was only to provide shelter, rather than to offer any additional comforts.[45] The report concluded that 'the answer is certainly not to be found in the

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[39] Thoburn, 'Trends in Foster Care and Adoption', 121; Hendrick, *Child Welfare*; See also Roger Bullock, 'The Children Act 1948: residential care', in Stevenson (ed.), *Child Welfare in the UK,* 156.
[40] KA:QU/SUP.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] Lynn Abrams and Callum G. Brown (eds) *A History of Everyday Life in Twentieth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2010) 51.
[44] WL/BL/69.
[45] HCPP/Clyde Report, 14.

large institution' and recommended new limitations to be imposed upon the size of facilities and the number of children they accommodated.[46] Prior to this, as Hendricks has argued, although there existed an understanding that mental and physical health were bound together, mental health continued to be 'pursued by physical provisions'.[47] This meant that only a basic living environment was felt to be required. Kindertranportees remember feeling that the institutional environment lacked important characteristics they associated with past home lives: creature comforts, private sleeping quarters, intimate dining areas or socially integrated upbringings. Residential facilities, such as Whittingehame, Garnethill hostel and Polton House, are recalled as having provided a large, impersonal, temporary and community-orientated environment, with greater emphasis on public rather than private approaches to daily life.[48]

A communal structure to the living environment characterised these large institutions. Kindertransportees, along with the Clyde Report, felt that this trait alone contradicted the intimacies of previous family-based lifestyles.[49] This is most often remembered in the form of communal dormitories and dining areas.[50] Few Kindertransportees had previously shared their bedroom before migration and some had never slept away from their parents.[51] The Kindertransportees were not familiar with the large dormitory, which lacked privacy and personal space.[52] Edna struggled to adapt to dormitory life:

> I was put into a huge, huge bedroom, with 12 beds in it and between the beds was a very small space. I didn't feel comfortable with that. I [was] used to my own room, my room. All of a sudden no privacy and I was not used to that sort of thing.[53]

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[46] *Ibid.*
[47] Hendrick, *Child Welfare,* 99.
[48] FWPC/Edna, Debbie; WHMA/USC:31378.
[49] *Ibid*. 15. For information concerning German Jewish family lives pre-migration see Kaplan, *Jewish Daily Life in Germany;* Ruth Kluger, *Landscapes of Memory: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered, (*New York, 2003).
[50] FWPC/Levi, Elijah, Dena.
[51] FWPC/Debbie.
[52] FWPC/Edna.
[53] FWPC/Edna

Jackson struggled with the lack of privacy.[54] Fry recalls that in the Garnethill hostel there was never a quiet place to study or be alone.[55] The crowded atmosphere of dormitories could also prove to be a lonely experience. One Kindertransportee recalls that he was 'badly bullied by everyone … Oh how miserable I was. How lonely I felt'.[56] Edna reflects that she found it impossible to make any friends living within the large crowd of residents at Whittingehame.[57]

The Clyde Report also recommended that the standard of facilities be raised beyond basic needs.[58] Kindertransportees argue that facilities lacked even basic comforts. Glasgow's Garnethill hostel is recalled by Kindertransportees as lacking necessities, space and any home comforts.[59] Fry recalls that Garnethill hostel's dormitories were very cold: 'the heating was quite inadequate, I had a lot of frostbites.'[60] Hubbers recalls that the condition of Whittingehame was extremely basic, large and impersonal.[61] Murphy has highlighted that a prevalent narrative to emerge amongst former children in care in Australia refers to poor food conditions in institutional facilities.[62] This prevalence also emerges in the Scottish story. The culinary provisions are remembered as being unimaginative and of poor quality. One Kindertransportee, Elijah, remembers that Whittingehame provided 'ordinary food, porridge nearly every day in the morning, egg, bread, bit of cheese … the food was very monotonous and simple'.[63] These issues were largely due, as Chapter Two has argued, to the circumstances of war and also philanthropic agendas to cater for the perceived needs of the working-class child in care. Nevertheless, these conditions of care are remembered by Kindertransportees as having been in stark contrast to the home comforts they had experienced in their past family environment.

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[54] WL/BL/69.
[55] WHMA/USC:31378.
[56] Gershon, *We Came as Children*, 84.
[57] FWPC/Edna.
[58] Holman, 'Fifty Years Ago', 204.
[59] WHMA/USC:31378.
[60] WHMA/USC:31378.
[61] WHMA/USC:43138.
[62] Murphy, 'Memory, Identity and public narrative', 306.
[63] FWPC/Elijah.

It was only after the 1948 Children's Act that efforts were made to prevent the segregation of children in care from the community.[64] Prior to this, institutions tended to be established in rural areas, outside of a town or village. The pre-*hachsharot*, evacuation centres, boarding schools, convents and children's homes often actively sought remote locations within secure grounds. Subsequently, institutions could isolate residents from any form of outside social engagement. In interviews, Kindertransportees place emphasis upon the cloistering experience of an institutional living environment. Kindertransportees at Whittingehame had to seek permission to leave the estate and were rarely permitted to do so.[65]

This situation challenged the balance between a private and public daily life usual in a middle-class German family. Hammel argues that Kindertransportees in residential care grew up without a 'frame of reference' normally acquired within a socially integrated family environment.[66] Handler, the leader of Bachad, recorded his concerns for the ability of youth, isolated in agricultural training facilities, to readjust to life in society and become useful citizens in Britain.[67] Elsie felt 'cloistered' within the Catholic Convent of the Sacred Heart, in Aberdeen, and felt completely cut off from the outside world.[68] She remembers that on leaving her convent she lacked any understanding of money or an ability to organise her own life.

Experience of nurture within a residential facility

Although Britain was experiencing a gradual shift towards a new 'liberal democratic objective' within theories concerning the most suitable approach to raising the deprived child in care, little development occurred within the actual day-to-day management of residential care centres until after 1948.[69] Advances in psychology, the arrival of psychiatry and psychoanalysis from Austria, and the work of the Child Guidance Clinics had had limited influence upon residential care in Scotland during

[64] Hendrick, *Child Welfare,* 136.
[65] FWPC/Abaigael, Dena, Levi, Elijah.
[66] Hammel, 'Representations of Family in Autobiographical texts', 129.
[67] WL/BL/25.
[68] FWPC/Elsie.
[69] Hendrick, *Child Welfare,* 112.

the interwar period.[70] Welshman and Stewart have also argued that it was only after wartime experiences, most notably evacuation, that these new ideas became influential.[71] Hendrick argues that even then changes were particularly slow to take root in Scotland, as opposed to England, with a continued adherence to Watsonian theories of Behaviourism. [72]

As a result, in 1946, the Clyde Report concluded that the nurturing experience of the derived Scottish child, living within a residential facility, was distinctly marked by a lack of attention to individual needs, emotional development and psychological problems.[73] Replenishing the absence of individual care was a central feature in the 1948 Children's Act, which called for greater levels of 'personal care of the individual'.[74] Cunningham has argued that care in residential facilities was distinguishable by its 'regimentation, firm discipline, ghastly food and a lack of care on an individual basis'.[75] The large size of facilities and the limited level of staff available often made it unfeasible to respond to individual needs.

Kindertransportees also argue that in residential facilities individual care strategies remained the exception rather than the rule. This tendency is remembered as having given little continuity to ritual celebrations for the individual child. Personal celebrations, such as birthdays, tended to be overlooked within residential care. Kindertransportees at Whittingehame do remember visiting Lady Trapain for afternoon tea on their birthdays.[76] However, this would occur on a group basis, inclusive of all children with nearby birthdays. Ranita states:

> No you did not celebrate your birthdays … Lady Trapain used to invite us for our birthday parties to her house and there she looked after us very well.[77]

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[70] Urwin and Sharland, 'From bodies to minds', 180.
[71] Welshman and Stewart, 'The Evacuation of Children in Wartime Scotland', 102.
[72] Hendrick, *Child Welfare,* 100; See also Deborah Thom, 'Wishes, anxieties, play and gestures: Child guidance in inter-war England', in Cooter (ed.) *In the name of the child,* 215; Cunningham, *Invention of Childhood,* 197.
[73] HCPP/Clyde Report, 24.
[74] Hendrick, *Child Welfare,* 139.
[75] Cunningham, *Invention of Childhood,* 193.
[76] FWPC/Abaigael.
[77] FWPC/Ranita.

The contradiction in this statement suggests that the dominant impression was that personal birthday celebrations were overlooked. The likelihood is that, for the most part, Kindertransportees experienced a sharp break from past personal rituals for celebrating their special day, with presents, birthday cakes and extravagant gestures absent. Elijah recalls of birthdays: 'there wasn't really a big to-do about birthdays … it was a big group and the big group was divided into smaller parts, who were friendly and did things together, but things like birthdays I did not take part in any birthday parties'.[78] The rarity of individual attention meant that when individual favours were given, jealousy and hostility could be provoked amongst the residents.[79] Drew, a teacher at Whittingehame, wrote to his own parents of the clannish 'communal spirit' that prevented Kindertransportees from accepting individual attention when it was available because of fear of group hostility.[80]

Another key criticism raised by the work of researchers, such as James Robertson and Mary Ainsworth, was that residential facilities lacked understanding or concern for the emotional development of the minor in care.[81] Tydor Baumel argues that the CC only began to make efforts to cater for the Kindertransportees' emotional needs after 1941 and these efforts tended to be concentrated on spiritual rather than emotional needs.[82] Gottlieb has shown how this impacted on Jewish evacuees who were initially spared little thought for their cultural and religious requirements.[83] Macnicol and Welshman both underline the persistent ignorance to expressions of emotional needs by caregivers during evacuation.[84] This was particularly true in response to problems such as bed-wetting, which tended to be punished. Abrams points to the national hysteria in Scotland with regard to evacuee bed-wetting.[85]

This trend was also customary in the initial process of placing minors in care facilities. These placement strategies were often subject to time restrictions and

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[78] FWPC/Elijah.
[79] FWPC/Edna, Josephina.
[80] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 14 January 1939.
[81] David Howe, *Attachment theory,* 13.
[82] Tydor Baumel, *Twice a Refugee*, 179.
[83] See Gottlieb, *Men of Vision*.
[84] Macnicol, 'Effect of the Evacuation', 3-31; Welshman, 'Evacuation and Social Policy', 28-53.
[85] Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 173.

pressures to find a care solution. The Clyde Report noted that there existed a perpetual surplus of minors to foster homes and other available placements.[86] This meant that organisations had to prioritise the caregiver's needs over the minor's requirements.[87] Similarly, the placement of Kindertransportees in residential facilities is frequently remembered as having overlooked individual suitability. Kindertransportees frequently point to the CC's strategies for care placement as examples of the failures to account for their emotional needs. Tydor Baumel has called this a 'haphazard allotment' process.[88] Little thought seems to have been given to keeping siblings together. Kindertransportee, Grenville, recalls that on arrival to Britain he was separated from his brothers: 'I didn't know what happened to them.'[89]

This trend was also marked by the way in which the minors were included in the allocation process as objects of adult inspection rather than as individuals making their own choices. Little effort was made to shelter the child in care from the process of selection for care homes. This was true both for foster and residential placements. Kindertransportees have recalled the 'cattle market' process of finding care placements, whereby they would be paraded in front of would-be foster parents.[90] Kindertransportees refer to these parades at Dovercourt as 'pick a child' days.[91] Karen Gershon, who was thereafter sent to Scotland, recorded her impressions of this selection process in a poem entitled 'The Children's Exodus':

> … but mealtimes were a market-place
> when sudden visitors could choose
> although we were not orphaned yet
> a son or daughter by their face…[92]

Tydor Baumel discusses a similar cattle market situation during the selection process for billeting evacuees.[93] Abrams's work on childcare policies in Scotland also points

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[86] HCPP/Clyde Report, 15.
[87] Buck, 'Feeding A Pauper Army', 312; See also Kushner and Know, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide,* 126-216.
[88] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee', 176.
[89] WL/BL/150.
[90] Gershon, *We Came as Children*, 40.
[91] FWPC/Sarah, Noah, Abaigael.
[92] Gershon, *We Came as Children,* 173

to the prevalence of the cattle market scenario for distributing minors to foster homes during the process of 'boarding out'.[94] Kindertransportees were often sent on to residential facilities because the CC had been unable to find them a foster home. This meant that such Kindertransportees often felt a sense of failure at having not been picked.

Once in residential care, little attention is remembered as being given to meet emotional needs. The work of the Child Guidance Clinics and the Tavistock Centre sought to introduce the relevance of recreating the 'psychological family' upbringing and the importance of the feeling of a home life for the child in care.[95] The Clyde Report supported these ideas and criticised the absence of a single guardian figure, the lack of adequate staff, and the 'insensitive' or 'excessive' disciplinary approach to care.[96] Bowlby's research through the 1940s developed related 'attachment theories' and sought to explain the problem of 'maternal deprivation', which, he argued, could impact negatively upon the child in care.[97] Bowlby attributed subsequent mental health problems to the continued lack of concern within institutions for maternal or paternal support for the emotional needs of a child.[98] Hendricks has shown that related debates concerning 'separation anxiety', as well as the importance of the mother-child relationship, continued into the 1960s.[99] Abrams has also noted that the notion of the central importance of 'family' to the child was new and was only incorporated within welfare services in Scotland after the war.[100] Barnett offers an important insight into this scenario and underlines that caregivers had not yet adopted attachment theories.[101] This meant, as Gopfert argues, that the legacy of the boarding school and other British institutions was felt to have

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[93] Tydor Baumel, 'Twice a Refugee', 176.
[94] Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 57.
[95] Hendrick, *Child Welfare,* 99; Hendrick, 'Children's emotional well-being and Mental Health in Early Post-Second World War Britain: The case of Unrestricted Hospital visiting', in M. Gijswijt-Hofstra & Hilary Marland (eds), *Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century* (Rodopi, 2003) 214.
[96] Hendrick, *Child Welfare,* 133.
[97] Howe, *Attachment Theory,* 12.
[98] See Inge Bretherton, 'The Origins of Attachment Theory: John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth', *Development Psychology,* vol.28 (1992) 759-775.
[99] Hendrick, 'Children's emotional well-being', 213.
[100] Abrams, *The Orphan Country*, 54.
[101] Barnett, 'The Acculturation of the Kindertransport Minors', 100-110.

marginalised the role of the family in the minors' lives.[102] In 1944, Presland reflected that 'in the best circumstances it is not easy for an organisation to be an adequate substitute for the profoundly significant life of a family'.[103] As a result, Abrams argues that before a shift in approach occurred, there existed a 'cultural and emotional no-man's-land' for minors in care.[104]

Kindertransportees support these arguments as they stress that the nature of such care and supervision meant that few felt they had found a parental substitute to provide maternal or paternal love and support. Abrams stresses that the root of this problem lay in the inability of residential care to recreate the 'mother-child' relationship for the child's development process.[105] Kindertransportees also pinpoint the significance of not having a mother figure in residential care. Edna has stressed that a 'love starved' resident body characterised Whittingehame, due to the 'legacy of having no mother'.[106] The matron in these facilities was meant to provide a degree of maternal support, yet is often recalled by Kindertransportees as unsupportive and lacking any mothering attributes. Batzdorf wrote in 1939 of his problematic relationship with his matron, who he described as not maternal.[107] Josephina describes her matron in Scotland as someone who was 'not sentimental … the most awful woman, she was so nasty to the children and she hated me ... she was horrible'.[108] Elijah also offers an unfavourable impression of the same matron: 'I didn't like her … she didn't help us.'[109] Sprinzeles too felt that this matron lacked 'softness' and a 'kind touch'.[110] She believes that although the teachers were 'very kindly', the Kindertransportees lacked mothering, particularly from the matron. One Kindertransportee living in a hostel recalls that their matron had 'no idea' and they subsequently 'suffered greatly in that atmosphere … the atmosphere in the hostel was more often than not very unhappy'.[111]

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[102] Gopfert, 'Kindertransport: History and memory', 22.
[103] Presland, *A Great Adventure,* 21.
[104] Abrams, *The Orphan Country',* 59-60.
[105] *Ibid.* 59.
[106] FWPC/Edna.
[107] Batzdorf in *ROK*, 28.
[108] FWPC/Josephina.
[109] FWPC/Elijah.
[110] WHMA/USC:43932.
[111] Gershon, *We came as children*, 81.

It is important to note that the un-mothering atmosphere of many residential facilities was certainly not universal. In contrast, Elsie remembers a close family feeling at her convent school in Aberdeen and a close relationship with the nuns.

> That was my family really, the nuns, other people have one mum, but I had a whole bunch, with one or two who became really surrogate mums … really loving and kind, one in particular I felt as close to almost as I had to my mother… she would tuck me in at night and I do recall having crying attacks, and I never seemed to know why I was crying but I couldn't stop. She would kneel at my bedside and stroke my hair until I fell asleep, she was the most mothering of them all.[112]

Nevertheless, a reoccurring complaint by interviewees is that not only did supervisors fail to 'mother' the minors in residential facilities, but they also tended to remain at a formal distance. The Clyde Report highlighted that due to a variety of factors, residential facilities were often plagued with a poor quality and limited pool of staff. This afforded minors minimal contact time with an adult caregiver. Supervisors are remembered as having spent little time with the Kindertransportees outside of the classroom. Edna recalls that in Whittingehame supervisors constantly retreated to the staff room and rarely interacted with the students outside of the training course:

> We were all traumatised without being able to admit it. Cidy Levi, I went to her once and I asked her why did she always go to the staff room for tea and not with us, she said because we were scared of you … they all had tea in the staff room. In those days there were no therapeutic methods …. No one knew how to empathise with us.[113]

Sprinzeles was also at Whittingehame and felt that although teachers were 'very kindly', they never developed a close relationship or bond with the residents.[114]

Without a maternal or paternal figure and lacking close constant supervision from staff, the Kindertransportees felt that they lacked adequate guidance as

[112] FWPC/Elsie.
[113] FWPC/Edna.
[114] WHMA/USC:43932.

maturing adolescents. Robertson has argued that residential facilities were particularly concerned to curtail the sexuality of the minor and most especially to prevent habitual masturbation.[115] Scottish schools and residential facilities did not routinely provide sexual education during this period.[116] This role continued to be allocated to the family as part of parental responsibilities. However, in residential care, minors did not possess this option and there seems to have been no effort to provide a guidance substitute. Subsequently, there was a resounding silence from caregivers for sexually maturing Kindertransportees.

The absence of advice about puberty and sexuality is recalled by some Kindertransportees as a major problem during maturation. This was especially felt whilst they tried to understand the changes that were occurring to their bodies and minds. Kindertransportees felt that they lacked advice and guidance during pivotal periods in their pubescent development. Elijah recalls his first encounter with wet dreams as a young adolescent at Whittingehame and the matron's inability to help or advise him:

> Boys aged 13 and 14 have all sorts of problems, they don't know what is happening to them, sexually and things like this, but she would never give advice … I remember my pants were covered with masturbation ... and I wanted her to tell me that this is not a terrible thing, try not to do it, but it is a thing that happens to youth of your age … she was of no help whatsoever. Her important part was that the rooms were clean, that we washed properly … She was not a very helpful person.[117]

This situation was not unique to Scotland. Leslie Brent attended Bunce Court and recalls that sex education from Ann Essinger was unhelpful: '[Ann Essinger] once told a group of boys whom I was one "If you ever have sexual urges come up on you, just go and have a cold shower." That was the only sex education I ever received.'[118]

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[115] Robertson, 'The home as a nest', 420.
[116] See Johnston, 'Compulsory Day Continuation Classes'.
[117] FWPC/Elijah.
[118] WL/BL/72.

As a result of the perceived limited availability of adult supervision, maternal support or individual nurturing from a qualified member of staff, Kindertransportees stress that they learnt to become dependent on alternative means of support. Mahood refers to this pattern of group behaviour as the development of 'sub-cultural psychological support' and argues that it became a common feature amongst Scottish children in residential institutions.[119] For the most part this led to a heavy dependence on friendship ties for guidance and support. Kindertransportees frequently recall relying on one another to learn about life and cope with emotional developments. Sprinzeles remembers that 'we nurtured ourselves, we comforted ourselves … we would comfort each other … we were a clique within ourselves, the girls who lived within that room'.[120] The 'family group' emerged in conjunction with this shift from blood kinship ties to friendship group bonds. This was a powerful bond rooted in friendship cliques or youth groups. Josephina states: 'What you did if you were clever was you got yourself a little group together … you got your circle, your little cliques.'[121] Within these groups, Josephina notes that 'there was always someone who clung to you'. Drew wrote that 'it is difficult to convey to an outsider this communal spirit which demands that all should have exactly the same considerations … to be different is to be a traitor'.[122] He suggests the clannishness of these cliques. This could mean that social groups would keep very much together and often clashed with alternative groups.[123] In 1939, Alfred Batzdorf wrote a letter 'to my future wife' about his trauma and depression after the age of 16 when his group was relocated.[124] Such bonds could be long-standing and challenge previous understandings of a family bond.

Youth groups emerged as a particularly important type of family group. This was especially true for Kindertransportees in pre-*hachsharot*, such as Whittingehame or Polton House. These residential facilities utilised youth groups to create a long-term bond between residents.[125] Bachad, Habonim, Hatzair Hashomer and the

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[119] Mahood, *Policing gender,* 150.
[120] WHMA/USC:43932.
[121] FWPC/Josephina.
[122] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 14 January 1940.
[123] FWPC/Elijah.
[124] Batzdorf in *ROK*, 28.
[125] FWPC/Levi, Elijah, Nathan, Edna, Jacob.

Scouts emerged as the most popular group choices. These groups created extremely powerful long-standing peer-group ties amongst Kindertransportees. Elijah rejected an educational opportunity because he did not want to be separated from his Habonim group at Whittingehame.[126] The Zionist youth groups would leave their pre-*hachsharot* centre together to join an adult *hachsharot* affiliated with their Zionist group.[127] Later, within these adult centres, *Gar'in* (commonly known as family groups) were formed. It was in these groups that Kindertransportees would make *Aliyah* and establish a *kibbutz* community. Dena, Elijah and Ranita, among others, all followed their Zionist youth group from Whittingehame to an adult *hachsharot* and then on to Israel.[128] These groups transformed the meaning of family from the nuclear family to the friendship group.

Implications of residential care for broader life stories

A central concern for the Child Guidance Clinics as well as the Tavistock Centre was the psychological implication for youth who had grown up, or were still growing up, in a welfare facility. By way of evaluating the weaknesses in current approaches, researchers, such as Bowlby, highlighted a number of key repercussions that could be expected in the mental health of such minors. These categories sought to replace previous ideas that defined a mentally unwell child as 'abnormal', 'victim' or 'threat'.[129] They established new conditions specific to children. These included 'disorders of personality', 'behaviour disorders', 'habit disorders', 'Glycopenic' disorders, 'psychoneuroses', 'psychoses' and 'epilepsy'.[130] These categories represented the perceived full spectrum of problems, beginning with timid or irritable behaviour and progressing to sexual promiscuity, bed-wetting, insomnia, hysteria or phobias, and culminating in schizophrenia or mental deficiency. Kindertransportees attach themselves to these categorisations and make similar direct links between residential care and their psychological health.

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[126] FWPC/Elijah.
[127] FWPC/Nathan, Ranita, Dena, Elijah.
[128] FWPC/Nathan, Edna, Ranita, Elijah, Dena, Benson; KA:QU/SUP.
[129] Hendrick, *Child Welfare,* 7, 13.
[130] *Ibid.* 104.

Prior to the Clyde Report, the Scottish Advisory Council reported specifically on the treatment and rehabilitation of juvenile offenders.[131] Their report investigated the relationship between Remand Homes and Approved Schools with the juvenile delinquent. The report is reflective of the concern that existed for juvenile delinquency and the impact of unsuitable care for the future mental health of the deprived child.[132] This chapter does not wish to suggest that juvenile delinquency emerged as a dominant personal repercussion of the nurturing experience of life in care, rather it is being argued that the Kindertransportees themselves testify to having experienced various degrees of adolescent rebellion and bad behavior due to their institutional upbringing. This element of their upbringing has been perpetually ignored and at times purposefully overlooked despite the fact that it tallies closely with wider British narratives about the child in institutional care. Zoe Josephs' research has also challenged the 'happy-ever-after' Kindertransport narrative, which overlooks the role of delinquency in their care experience.[133] The Kindertransportees were not immune to behaving badly and the CC was aware of the potential and existing problems of anti-social behaviour amongst their charges. In 1939, the Nottingham Hebrew Congregation wrote to the secretary of the Chief Rabbi's Emergency Fund that Kindertransportees were proving difficult to manage. In the letter they explain their belief that one particular girl is responsible for 'rousing' anti-social behaviour amongst nine other residents of their hostel:

> She is a girl of very strong will and personality, the other girls look to her as to a leader, and she is exerting a most disturbing influence on them … She is hysterical and rouses hysteria in the other children. She disturbs the dormitories at night and collects the girls in her bedroom.[134]

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[131] HCPP/Clyde Report, 4.
[132] Holman, 'Fifty Years Ago', 204.
[133] Zoe Josephs, *Survivors; Jewish Refugees in Birmingham 1933-1945* (Birmingham 1988).
[134] HLSC/MS183/52/F2, Letter from the Nottingham Hebrew Congregation's Rev Dr. S. Goldman, 16 January 1939, to the secretary of the Chief Rabbi's Emergency Fund.

At the Annual Refugee Conference in 1942, attention focused on the problems of housing 'adolescents' and schemes were devised for the most suitable methods of management for these minors.[135]

Kindertransportees' testimonies support the hypothesis that they did not always behave well while in residential care. Drew wrote to his parents concerning incidents of bullying at Whittingehame.[136] He also described his frustration about truancy amongst Kindertransportees at Whittingehame and his inability to force attendance of his classes: 'it was customary for a master to lose one by one his class through the open window … to have three people turning up out of class of 20.'[137] A popular tale by interviewees is of other residents disregarding staff authority and school rules whilst exiting classrooms via windows.[138] Drew photographed Kindertransportees undertaking pursuits that seem to capture these stories.[139] The matron of Whittingehame also remembered incidents of 'unruly behaviour', including one resident destroying the electrical equipment in the sick room, while others were regularly playing truant.[140] Edna describes incidents at Whittingehame when fellow residents vandalised the estate's property.[141] In correspondence with his parents, Drew concluded unfavourably upon the temperament of the Kindertransportees: 'they are very volatile.'[142]

Kindertransportee bad behaviour was not unusual and occurred in other residential facilities across Scotland and throughout Britain. Flesch recalls similar behaviour of Kindertransportees during their evacuation in the south of Scotland:

> Fighting with them all the time … This was a lovely house in its own grounds … And there was a big greenhouse. One day we decided to take bricks and smash it to pieces. Things like that, you know. Screwed up.[143]

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[135] HLSC/MS183/384/F1, Report of Annual Refugee Conference held at Birmingham, 18-19 January 1942.
[136] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 14 January 1940.
[137] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 9 May 1940.
[138] FWPC/Edna, Abaigael, Dena.
[139] MCPC/Drew, Photographs.
[140] Gershon, *We Came as Children,* 78.
[141] FWPC/Edna.
[142] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 25 April 1940.
[143] WL/BL/137.

Jayson recalls Kindertransportee behaviour at the Millsie camp in Ireland: 'the refugee children would not behave correctly … Sonia would not put her hand out when she was asked … she got hold of the cane and she snapped it.'[144]

Kindertransportees were also prone to fighting one another. This was a particular problem within residential facilities specifically established for Kindertransportees, where social groups were formed based on national origins. In Whittingehame, Dena recalls that Viennese and German children fought one another.[145] In Bunce Court, Brent was shocked by similar clashes between German and Austrian refugees:

> I was absolutely dumbfounded and disturbed, deeply disturbed by the fact that there was a huge amount of rivalry between the Berlin and the Viennese boys, less boys, the older ones. … there were actually knife fights between them.[146]

Legarreta has argued that similar divisions emerged amongst the Basque minors in Britain and that these could also lead to extreme cases of violent confrontation.[147]

Bad behaviour and rebellion is often connected by Kindertransportees to their emotional upset during the period due to residential care. A dominant issue is frustration at having lost or missed out on an important part of life due to the characteristics of the institutional environment. A key feature is the sense of having lost 'home' and 'family'. Initially homesick, Kindertransportees argue that their sense of loss was perpetuated by the living environment and nurturing experience within residential facilities. They felt that they were not provided with a substitute 'home' and that this led to their gradual alienation from a 'normal' home life. As a result, as Kushner has argued, the notion of 'home' has become a symbolic and idealised construct, which possesses qualities of safety, love and warmth. [148]

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[144] WL/BL/26.
[145] FWPC/Dena.
[146] WL/BL/72.
[147] Legarreta, *The Guernica Generation*, 101.
[148] Kushner, 'The Kinder: A Case of Selective Memory?', 157.

As Ute Benz has argued, detaching the child migrant from 'home' life could lead to negative psychological consequences.[149] Kindertransportees stress their sense of bereavement for these crucial elements within their lives.[150] One Kindertransportee recorded at the time his acute awareness of lacking his own family, which led to envy and a sense of hostility towards other people's families.[151] Rachel's narrative dwells on her lost family, especially when she compares her situation to the solid roots her husband enjoys with his extended family in America.[152] Kindertransportee Batzdorf wrote in his diary in 1939, 'I have become selfish, I want my "home" and if I cannot find that in the community, I will withdraw from it.'[153] In a diary written in July 1939, a Kindertransportee living in a hostel recalls his frustration and sadness that he was not 'At Home'.[154] Another Kindertransportee states:

> The fact of not having a home was of paramount importance. A school is not a home; other people's houses are not home.[155]

Collated testimonies of Kindertransportees by Gershon also express the paramount importance attached to having or not having a home.[156]

Kindertransportees explain that their response to this situation has been a preoccupation with finding a permanent 'home'. This is most often in the form of an initial desire to establish permanency, belonging, community membership and family roots.[157] Kushner has also argued that great importance has been placed by Kindertransportees on reconstructing a 'home'. [158] The notion of 'family', and for many the idea of the 'Jewish family', has also dominated reconstruction efforts. The

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[149] Benz, 'Traumatization through Separation', 89.
[150] FWPC/Edna.
[151] Anonymous, 'A Diary for Susie', in *ROK,* 18.
[152] FWPC/Rachel.
[153] Alfred Batzdorf, 'Letter to my future wife', 5 May 1939, in *ROK,* 28.
[154] Anonymous, 'A Diary for Susie', in *ROK* (1999) 18.
[155] Gershon, *We came as children,* 152, 153, 160.
[156] *Ibid*.
[157] FWPC/Edna.
[158] Kushner, 'The Kinder: A Case of Selective Memory?', 157.

process of re-imagining, recreating and re-engaging with a 'home' or 'family life' is often remembered as a difficult challenge.

The physical aspects of 'home' and 'family' are recalled by Kindertransportees as being easier to recreate, namely a permanent place of belonging and physical roots. This led Kindertransportees to choose to settle in permanent private houses at a young age.[159] Procreation also dominated many Kindertransportee narratives.[160] The desire for a large family with many children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is described as a source of continuity and essential for a perceived 'Jewish family life'.[161] Figure 5.3. illustrates the trend amongst Kindertransportees to procreate and establish large families.

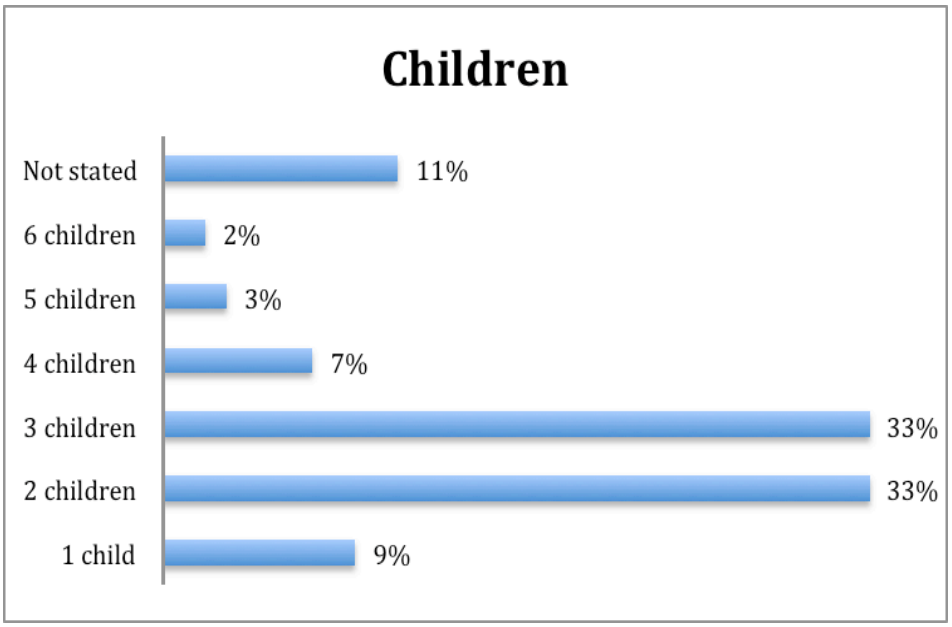

Figure 5.3. Level of procreation

Source: KA:QU/SUP.

By having children soon after marriage, most Kindertransportees now have large numbers of grandchildren and great-grandchildren. One Kindertransportee interviewed had six children and now enjoys 28 grandchildren and over 30 great-

[159] FWPC/Rachel, Edna.
[160] FWPC/Edna.
[161] http://golanes.blogspot.com, viewed 25 April 2008.

grandchildren.[162] Another, who had four children, now has 12 grandchildren and 11 great-grandchildren.[163] This trend does correlate with the wider post-war baby boom in Britain, whereby young couples were getting married earlier and have families sooner. In comparison, the average British woman born between the mid-1930s and the early 1940s would have 2.4 children.[164] Nevertheless, for Kindertransportees, establishing a family is presented as a form of emotional recovery from institutional care.

This aspect of the Kindertransportees' emotional response is closely entwined with their reaction to the Holocaust. Procreation is also explained by Kindertransportees as a form of political resistance, allowing Kindertransportees to 'beat Hitler' and Nazi ambitions to exterminate the Jewish people.[165] Margot Goldberg explains that 'where life continues, death is denied' and points to the importance of procreation in the family.[166] It also provided a tool to resolve guilt for having gained a place on the Kindertransport and survived the Holocaust.[167] Nevertheless, for Kindertransportees from residential care, recreating a family unit represented a form of personal restitution. They were establishing something that had not otherwise been provided.

The intimate aspects of daily life in a family environment are recalled as having been harder to recreate. The 'Jewish family' is frequently idealised by interviewees and portrayed as a central ingredient to a perceived 'good life'.[168] However, this is often felt to be unattainable by Kindertransportees, who express the feeling that their institutional upbringing and care environment has made them unfamiliar with essential aspects of a 'Jewish family life'. This has meant that the Kindertransportees draw heavily upon their memories of their past Jewish family lives and reinterpret these as prerequisites for the sought after 'Jewish family life'. These are often nostalgic and idealistic.

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[162] *Ibid.*
[163] *Ibid.*
[164] www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-11960183; see also www.Statistics.gov.uk/statbase/Product.asp?vlnk=14408 (both viewed 23.05.2011).
[165] FWPC/Edna.
[166] Margot Goldberg, 'Honors', in *ROK,* 64.
[167] *Ibid.*
[168] FWPC/Noah, Edna.

Josephina found the process of reconstructing a normal home life exceptionally difficult after growing up in a residential facility.[169] In Chapter Three it has been argued that the mundane Jewish habits, customs and rituals observed in a private domestic setting were rarely continued in residential facilities. In institutional care, engagement with Judaism became rooted in the public domain. This meant that social, cultural or political aspects of a Jewish life substituted intimate day-to-day private Jewish rituals or even piety per se.[170] This could halt Kindertransportees' learning process of Jewish traditions and cause confusion about the role of Judaism in the home environment.[171] Without this frame of reference, Kindertransportees often struggled to recreate or re-imagine the prerequisites for a 'Jewish family' in later life. Golan has recorded her struggle to recreate family rituals, celebrations and festivals from her memory of life before the Kindertransport.[172] The battle to re-engage with this aspect of Jewish piety left Golan 'yearning for a real Jewish home life'.[173] Interviewees have subsequently expressed the development of severe homesickness, loneliness and insecurity about belonging due to their inability to recreate the perceived 'Jewish family'.[174]

Alternatively, for some Kindertransportees whose families survived the Holocaust, they found that they were unable to re-engage with 'family life'. The experience of self-governance and communal life in an institutional environment were identified as causes for minors finding it difficult to readjust to a small patriarchal or matriarchal family environment.[175] Guske has argued that Kindertransportees underwent a process of 'parentification', shouldering adult burdens and expectations.[176] Kröger argues that the process of 'parentification' made it difficult to form traditional parent/child relationships with their parents.[177] Tara Zahra has shown that displaced children remaining in continental Europe also

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[169] FW/PC: Josephina.
[170] FW/PC: Edna.
[171] FW/PC: Elijah.
[172] http://golanes.blogspot.com, viewed 25 April 2008.
[173] *Ibid.*
[174] FWPC/Edna; See also Gershon's collection of published poems, including *Collected Poems* (England, 1990).
[175] HCPP/Clyde Report, 31.
[176] Guske, *Trauma and attachment*, 27.
[177] Kröger, 'Child Exiles', 18.

struggled in the process of readjusting to life with biological families and past lives.[178] Reconnecting could be hampered by many factors that had arisen during separation, including linguistic differences.[179] The lack of affection and love in institutions has also been attributed by Kindertransportees to problems experienced with re-engaging with parents, depending on others, or forming new close relationships in later life. Debbie struggled in later life to form a mutually dependent relationship with her husband.[180] Josephina believes that living in a community collective environment hampered her ability to reconstruct and readapt to a family life.[181]

In addition to anxieties about the lack of a 'home' and 'family' life, the Kindertransportees also explain that they developed a wide range of other emotional problems that they link to the broad experience of growing up in residential care. Hamilton and Benz make a link between 'separation' and 'trauma' and argue that 'behavioural anomalies' arose amongst such children.[182] Guske has argued that three distinctive behavioural features arose, dependent on age at departure, within the Kindertransportee group. She believes that those aged between one and four developed 'neurotic characters' suffering from a lack of inhibition, anxiety and guilt; Kindertransportees between the ages of four and ten experienced anxiety disorders and phobias, while those aged ten to 18 suffered from 'chronic reactive depressive symptoms'.[183] In contrast, Hamilton's 1985 'retrospective study' of 300 Kindertransportees recorded overarching problems ranging from depression, relationship problems, extreme insecurity, fear of abandonment and restlessness.[184] Curio has pointed to the regression of the child migrant in some circumstances, including learning difficulties, anti-social behaviour and a reversion to bed-wetting.[185] Hamilton has also identified amongst refugees a particular desperation to

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[178] Tara Zahra, 'A Human Treasure': Europe's Displaced Children between Nationalism and Internationalism', *Past and Present,* vol.6, 2011, 344.
[179] *Ibid.*
[180] FWPC/Debbie.
[181] FWPC/Josephina.
[182] Benz, 'Traumatization through Separation', 98; See Vernon Hamilton, *A Retrospective Study of Child Refugees from Nazi Germany* (UK, 1985).
[183] Guske, *Trauma and Attachment*, 19.
[184] *Ibid*.; See also Curio, '"Invisible" children', 24.
[185] Curio, '"Invisible" children', 54.

please and a chameleon-like approach to new living environments.[186] The CC was aware of psychological problems afflicting many of the refugee adolescents at the time. In 1942, at the Annual Refugee Conference, it was agreed that there was a 'need for after care work for adolescent refugee girls, for native nurses to treat refugee mental cases'.[187] The Kindertransportees' testimonies connect a variety of perceived psychological changes and emotional problems to their residential upbringing.

By the close of war, it was increasingly recognised that the community-orientated and cloistered character of institutional life could lead to the development of unusual characteristics, which made it difficult for integration back into a normal life in society. Ellis noted that there were problems of the 'psychological effects of community life'.[188] Kindertransportees suggest that they share these anxieties. One Kindertransportee enjoyed the community life at Polton House, but claims to be crippled in later life by agoraphobia due to this experience.[189] She associates this with her fear of unfamiliar and crowded environments that are filled with unknown faces and independent life choices.[190] Now in her 80s, she explains that her psychological illness has made it difficult to form new relationships and establish a stable family life.

Kindertransportees have also suffered from severe debilitating forms of psychological and even schizophrenic illness. Ranita states that at Whittingehame, 'some of them were a little cracked, there was a girl she used to draw but she talked an awful lot of nonsense'.[191] Jayson suggests that these mental problems were widespread, recalling them as they occurred at the Millsie camp:

> We never had any psychological advice, they just left us to it. So if anyone was slightly crazy, if anything they were encouraged, so we didn't get any saner. This was

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[186] Hamilton, *A Retrospective study.*
[187] HLSC/MS183/384/1, Report of Annual Refugee Conference held at Birmingham, 18 and 19 January 1942.
[188] Ellis, 'Effects Of War On Child Health', 243.
[189] FWPC/Debbie.
[190] *Ibid.*
[191] FWPC/Ranita.

> particularly unfortunate for the grown-ups who were in a far worse psychological state than we children were.[192]

In most instances, severely disturbed minors would be returned to the CC in London. Hahn-Warburg recorded one incident at Bloomsbury House when she had to deal with a troubled minor.

> A boy of 18 or 19 came to see me. Nobody else at Bloomsbury House wanted him in the building. He was aggressive and undisciplined. I invited him in. When I was behind my desk, he jumped up suddenly, took out a knife and cut the telephone wire. Then he opened the window and started climbing out on the ledge. … Eventually, I persuaded him to go with me to hospital. There was a doctor I knew who would help him get into a special home.[193]

Severe psychiatric illness could sometimes lead to long-term institutionalisation. Psychological breakdowns, Turner argues, were not uncommon amongst young migrants.[194] He notes that by 1945 36 young trans-migrants were cared for in mental asylums and a number suffered schizophrenia and suicidal tendencies.[195]

Despite the significant presence of emotional problems, or more severe depression, Kindertransportees also stress that they survived the ordeal and are 'survivors'. This aspect of their personal narrative is most closely connected to the public Kindertransport narrative, which emphasises endurance and achievement, despite the odds. They stress that they emerged from residential care with independent, self-reliant and ambitious approaches to life. Kindertransportees often attribute this to their unaccompanied circumstance in Britain and perceived parental expectations from Greater Germany. Yet, they also place relevance upon their care within residential facilities, which sought to prevent idleness and emphasised to residents that they must become independent and self-sufficient by the age of 14.[196]

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[192] WL/BL/26.
[193] Lola Hahn-Warburg, cited in Turner, ... *And the Policeman smiled*, *230-1*.
[194] Turner, ... *And the Policeman smiled,* 228.
[195] *Ibid.*
[196] See Chapter Two.

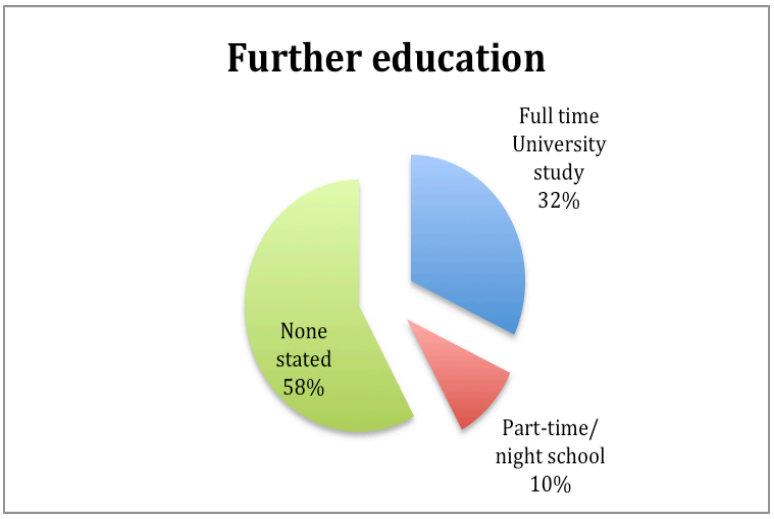

Figure 5.4. Further education

Source: KA:QU/SUP

Kindertransportees recall demanding working lifestyles from a young age and a tendency for pursuing further education alongside these busy schedules. Figure 5.4. indicates the disproportionately high level of further education amongst Kindertransportees. The KA:QU/SUP suggests that 11% of Kindertransportees achieved a PhD, while 20% gained a BA or BSC. Ruff decided to independently take his Scottish Highers after the war and later gained a bursary from the University of Glasgow.[197] He then went on to acquire a PhD. Warton replenished his missed education at night school whilst undertaking his apprenticeship. This enabled him to gain a place at the University of London and Glasgow School of Art.[198]

Conclusion

Between 1938 and 1945 the majority of Kindertransportees experienced some form of residential care in Britain.[199] In this chapter, I have sought to show that Kindertransportees present this episode in their lives as a defining moment for their broader life stories. The main themes that they highlight within their personal

[197] WL/BL/50.
[198] WHMA/USC:23855.
[199] KA:QU/SUP.

narratives reflect a close connection to public narratives about the experiences of Scottish minors in care during this period. They argue that the institutional environment and quality of care that these facilities provided was dissimilar to a nuclear family upbringing and changed important features in their everyday lives and personal development. They were forced to adapt to the new physical environment of residential facilities, which lacked important provisions that they expected within a nuclear family household. Fundamentally, it did not provide a family life or home environment. It lacked home comforts customary to a private household. It was institutional in physical structure and afforded little privacy or personal space. The environment could also cloister residents from the outside world and limit their exposure to a normal socialising process.

The nurturing experiences and subsequent psychological implications this had upon their broader lives also indicate parallels between Kindertransportees' personal narratives and the British public narrative about the deprived child in care. The approach to nurture is remembered as community-orientated and neglectful of individual's needs. Kindertransportees believe that their emotional health was neglected allowing few to find a substitute parental figure. The Kindertransportees lacked an overarching authority figure to enforce individual accountability and self-discipline in all areas of life. They were afforded little one-to-one contact time with an adult and were not given guidance as maturing adolescents. This meant that Kindertransportees felt deprived of affection and love. In response, peer-group ties with other minors became important. Youth groups or friendship cliques took on a powerful role for Kindertransportees and this precipitated the emergence of the 'family group'.

The Kindertransportees' relationship with notions of 'home' and 'family' were also deeply affected by residential care. Fundamentally, the facilities did not cater for a family environment or upbringing, and Kindertransportees emphasise their sense of having lost touch with the rudiments of a family home life. The psychological trauma that Kindertransportees' attach to this sense of a lost relationship caused further problems when they tried to re-engage it. These holes that existed in their upbringing due to residential care are felt to have directly led to an array of psychological and emotional problems. These range in extremities, but

most often are self-diagnosed by Kindertransportees and perceived as mild in character. Nonetheless, their residential upbringing is felt to have had an important bearing upon their broader life stories.

What is clear is that the 'happy ever after' storyline does not represent the complex narrative that emerges. Personal narratives focus on 'loss, abuse, suffering and survival'.[200] However, in contrast to Murphy's findings for Aboriginal minors in Australian care Homes, Kindertransportees rarely detail overt or extreme abuses - physically or psychologically - but rather emphasise neglect and insufficiencies in provisions. Nevertheless, the 'survivor' is central to these life histories. Murphy explains that this includes the formation of the 'legacy' of a residential childhood, whereby subsequent childhood injuries become publically recognised as the cause for transforming them into 'survivors'.[201]

Kindertransportees use their experience of residential care to explain the way in which their lives have unfolded. These experiences are positioned as the catalyst and cause of later life failures or successes. They offer an explanation for future personal problems or social dilemmas and have become a shared denominator that can be used to make sense of their lives. The subsequent patterns that have emerged within these personal narratives reflect a close relationship with public narratives and popular historical consciousness. The overarching 'survivor' storyline correlates with popular Holocaust narratives, which focus on Jewish survival against all the odds. Personal narratives also link to popular Kindertransport narratives that stress endurance and achievement. However, they do not dwell on specific Jewish victimhood. Neither do they support the 'thankful' or 'celebratory' perception of their time in Britain as Kindertransportees. Instead, they reflect a closer correlation to public narratives in Britain concerning the difficult experiences of the deprived child in institutional care during this period.

In summary, the Kindertransportees' experiences of life in a residential facility, and the subsequent life histories that they connect to this upbringing, mirror narratives and records concerning the Scottish deprived minors' experiences of life in institutional care Homes. These findings should not be interpreted in sensational

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[200] Murphy, 'Memory, Identity and Public Narrative', 299.
[201] *Ibid.,* 303, 305.

terms, but they do show that the ‘happy-ever-after’ Kindertransport narrative is naïve and overlooks the wide array of ramifications that residential care in Scotland had upon all its residents’ lives and their subsequent life histories.

Chapter Six

Migration after the Kindertransport: The Scottish legacy?

Figure 6.1. Kindertransportees in kilts

Source: MCPC/Drew, Photographs.

> I always say I am a product of three peoples, or ethnicities, or nations that have been screwed throughout history, the Scots, the Czech and the Jews.[1]

The KA's new database suggests that 800 children were sent to Scotland via the Kindertransport.[2] Of those surveyed, by 1950 few remained within the Scottish borders. Only 13% of these Kindertransportees remain in Scotland today.[3] 82% are living in Israel, the United States of America (USA) or England.[4] Why did they all leave? This chapter will consider the legacy of Scotland upon its resident wartime Kindertransportees and the role this may have played in their migration and resettlement choices after 1945. It will also challenge monolithic interpretations of Kindertransportees' post-war migrations and the influencing variables that lay behind these choices.

The Kindertransportees' migration story has frequently been grouped together with 'typical' Jewish migration narratives or post-war continental refugee

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[1] FWPC/Benson.
[2] KA:QU/SUP.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

resettlement patterns.[5] These ideas have placed emphasis on the role of Jewish genealogy (the desire to remain within a Jewish community), the legacy of Jewish diaspora (Jews living outside Zion and who wish to return) and the implications of the Holocaust for demographic shifts in Europe. In this chapter, it will be argued that in fact the Kindertransportees' migration choices reflect a very unique pattern unto themselves. These also differed depending on where they had been placed during the war years. For Kindertransportees in Scotland, a particular story of migration emerges.

The Kindertransportees' mass exodus is not only revealing of the push factors that afflict Scotland. It is also suggestive of other important influences on the Kindertransportees' lives that determined particular lifestyle choices. These do not necessarily place Scotland in centre stage and it becomes clear that for some Kindertransportees their Scottish placement was of minimal relevance in these decisions. While economic opportunities in new countries led a large number of youth abroad, family reunions did take precedence in resettlement plans. The draw of familiar cultural centres and post-war ideological aspirations also took Kindertransportees from Scotland. The decision to migrate to Israel was not always based on a decision to make *Aliyah* and return to Zion. Many alternative reasons to Zionism emerge for the migration to Israel: financial assistance, friendship, kinship, insecurity and the desire to belong.

It will also be shown that migration to places further afield did not signify a greater disconnection from Scotland. Scotland's Kindertransportees have often become part of the Scottish diaspora experience. Some reflect a devoted zeal for all things Scottish, despite having not chosen to live in Scotland. The Kindertransportees' migration story was also very much tailored to their unique position in Britain as unaccompanied trans-migrant minors. These features added certain characteristics to their resettlement choices. The Kindertransportees were encouraged to migrate to distant places in the British Empire. In 1945, they were still

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[5] See Berghahn, 'German Jews in England'; Ruth Zariz, *Escape before the Holocaust, Migration of German Jews 1938-1941* (Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1990); Daniel Boyarin, 'Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity', *Critical Inquiry*, vol.19, 4 (Summer, 1993).

young, unattached and independent, and at liberty to say, 'Why not?'[6]

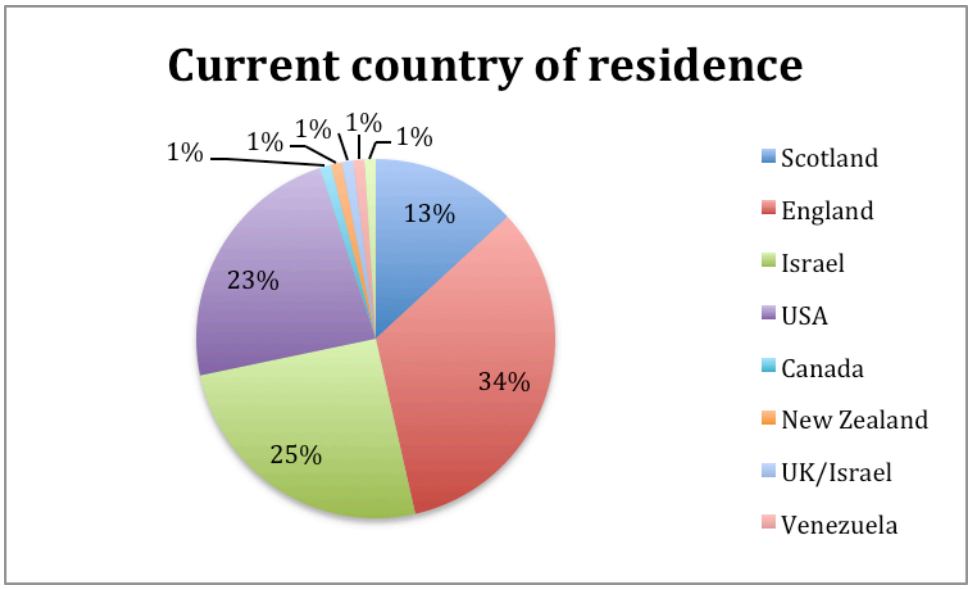

Figure 6.2. Current country of residence

Source: KA:QU/SUP.

The Kindertransportees who had originally been placed in Scotland can now be found across the world, as far from Britain as Canada, Nepal and New Zealand.[7] The majority did, however, adhere to three preferred destinations: 34% migrated south to England, 23% went to the USA and 25% to Israel. Figure 6.2. shows the ratio of Scotland's Kindertransportees across the world. These migration patterns reflect a combination of trends associated with being trans-migrant minors, part of the Scottish diaspora, amongst a wave of displaced refugees from Europe and members of a British post-war population.

Patterns of trans-migration

The status of the Kindertransportees in Britain - unaccompanied trans-migrant youth or children – and the circumstance this afforded them in Scotland, determined important characteristics of their post-war settlement choices. The terms and

[6] FWPC/Ruth, Bert:Memoir.
[7] KA:QU/SUP

conditions of the Kindertransportees' entry to Britain had always been that they were migrants in transit. Curio has shown the relevance of the bureaucratic backdrop and strict trans-migrant guidelines for the Kindertransportees' stay in Britain.[8] Between 1938 and 1945, neither the CC nor the general public ever discarded these terms or the notion of this trans-migration eventuality. In February 1939, *The Times* assured its readers of the new arrivals' 'ultimate emigration elsewhere'.[9] In 1944, with the close of war in sight, attention returned to the migratory choices of the trans-migrants. In March 1944, an article in the *Scotsman* placed emphasis on the imminent return of refugees to their homelands.[10]

The Kindertransportees were also aware of this expectation for their departure from Britain. One former member of the Kindertransport, Elsie, remembers in an interview that she felt she was 'luggage in advance', never collected for her onward journey.[11] Another interviewee, Dena, states that her time in Scotland was always based on the need to gain certificates to get to Palestine, where she had 'always wanted to go'.[12] Repatriation to Germany or Austria was not a popular migration option. Instead, the Kindertransportees intended migratory route was predominantly focused on new destinations, rather than returning to their homelands. Interviewees explain that by 1945 they had become dislocated from their homelands and did not wish to return. Elsie no longer felt 'at home there anymore'.[13] Ariel, like many other Kindertransportees, had left Vienna at a very young age and felt that he had not formed any attachment to the city.[14] Kindertransportees had also often lost their mother tongue and felt unable to return to a linguistically foreign community. Isabel lost her ability to speak German and struggled to engage with German people in later life.[15] Elsie recalls: 'I had lost my German totally, completely, I couldn't read it, I couldn't understand it, I couldn't

[8] Curio, '"Invisible" children', 41-56.
[9] *Times*, 9 February 1939.
[10] *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.
[11] FWPC/Elsie.
[12] FWPC/Dena.
[13] FWPC/Elsie.
[14] FWPC/Ariel.
[15] FWPC/Isabel.

speak it, so I couldn't even read my parents' letters.'[16] Fear and loathing is another given reason for their desire not to return to their original homelands. When Isabel did make a return trip, she was preoccupied with evaluating people and their likely roles during the Holocaust.[17] As a result, few Kindertransportees took the opportunity to return to their countries of origin and instead waited for alternative migration opportunities.

The long process of waiting for visas meant that Kindertransportees often grasped the first opportunity for further migration. The attainment of the necessary visa or immigration certificate enabled Kindertransportees to fulfil their parents' prearranged plans to meet in America or make *Aliyah* to Palestine or later Israel. 6% of Kindertransportees who went to the USA did so purely because they received their visa.[18] Many of the Kindertransportees had been registered for a USA visa before they came to Britain on the Kindertransport. Their time in Scotland has sometimes been recalled as a form of purgatory, awaiting a judgement to enable them to move on to their next life in a new country. Elsie's parents had placed her on a visa waiting list for the USA, which took ten years to arrive.[19] She recalls that at 'times I felt a little edgy when I realised this (waiting) could go on forever'.[20] The inability to acquire the necessary documentation meant that the Kindertransportees' migration occurred over a long timescale. Levi remembers that quite a few Kindertransportees received their affidavit for the USA or Palestine and left between May and June 1941.[21] Others, such as Elsie, were not able to leave until the late 1940s.

The trans-migrant basis of the Kindertransportees' status in Britain developed a tripartite pattern to their migration story. Kindertransportees often reflect on their three lives: before, during and after the Kindertransport. They began their migration earlier than most Holocaust survivors and most Kindertransportees stayed in Britain for many years before onward migration. This meant that the British part of their passage remained an important element of their story. The opening quotation to this chapter, which is taken from an interview, explains the importance of the tripartite

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[16] FWPC/Elsie.
[17] FWPC/Isabel.
[18] KA:QU/SUP.
[19] FWPC/Elsie.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] FWPC/Levi.

migration experience. Benson, who migrated to Israel, believes he is not only a Czech, but also equally a Scot and a Jew or Israeli.[22] Another Kindertransportee narrates her life story in three neat packages:

> I have my Austrian life, my Scottish life and my American life … My first ten years in Austria were one life, then in Scotland I had another life completely, you just got picked up out of one life and dumped into another, and then coming to America that was my third life, which seemed to have very little to do with either life one or two.[23]

This tripartite structure has meant that the latter stage of the Kindertransportees' trans-migration journey is not usually presented by Kindertransportees as their big migration experience. Instead, it is portrayed as the conclusion to a broader story of migration beginning before the war with the Kindertransport. As such, after 1945, the initial migration was the last major relocation of 93% of Kindertransportees as they chose to remain permanently rooted to that first chosen resettlement nation.[24] This pattern may be linked to the trauma of the initial migratory experience via the Kindertransport. Bauer explains that she simply could not bring herself to be uprooted again.[25]

Nevertheless, a lesser number of Kindertransportees broke this tripartite structure and made multiple migrations after 1945. The Kindertransportees were unaccompanied minors and expressed their sense of freedom and adventure during this period. In 1945, most Kindertransportees were still living independently with few commitments or geographic ties. There is a sense of 'why not' and an experiment with migration choices. Hubbers recalls her decision to go to a *hachshara*:

> I was in a couple of camps and a couple of families. In the second camp I went to, a lady came round and asked if there was anyone who was interested in going to Israel … I thought yes this was a good idea I will go on *hachshara* and

[22] FWPC/Benson.
[23] FWPC/Elsie.
[24] KA:QU/SUP.
[25] WHMA/SC/RG-50.166*03.

from there I could go to Israel.[26]

Subsequently, 7% of Scotland's Kindertransportees made multiple migrations, while others relocated within their chosen country.[27] Multiple migrations even included transatlantic moves. These tended to be between the USA and Israel.

The presence of multiple migrations may be attributed to a lack of supervision or guidance felt by many Kindertransportees as unaccompanied minors. The migration pattern suggests a degree of confusion about where to go and a lack of clear guidance concerning how to get there. 83% of former members of the Kindertransport, who made multiple migrations, migrated first to Israel before deciding to go to the USA.[28] Disillusionment with the reality of the *kibbutzim* lifestyle was a contributing factor for some Kindertransportees' decision to leave Israel.[29] Israel was often seen by Kindertransportees as a tough place to live with limited opportunities outside of manual labouring.[30] The USA offered greater educational or career opportunities. One interviewee mentions how he went to the USA to study at university after becoming disillusioned with manual or labouring lifestyles in Israel.[31]

It is also apparent that many more Kindertransportees would have made multiple migrations had they been able to do so. Elsie went to the USA and immediately wished to return to Scotland or migrate elsewhere. However, she had to find employment because she lacked the money needed for her return passage.[32] She then decided to stay in the US by the time she had managed to raise enough money. The limited level of support and financial assistance for the Kindertransportees not only kept them abroad, such as those who may have wished to return or re-migrate, but also prevented some from leaving Scotland. By 1945, 54% of Kindertransportees were orphans and the majority were deemed too old to remain

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[26] WHMA/USC:43138.
[27] KA:QU/SUP.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] FWPC/Rachel, Edna.
[30] FWPC/Rachel, Edna and Abaigael.
[31] FWPC/Benson.
[32] FWPC/Elsie.

dependent on welfare.[33] This meant that many found they lacked a support network during the resettlement process.[34] One Kindertransportee who still lives in Scotland explains her reluctance to move due to fear and financial uncertainty.[35]

This lack of support meant that migration eventualities were often due to chance and luck. Jacob was extremely keen to gain a certificate for Palestine and make *Aliyah* during the war years.[36] However, due to miscommunication and a lack of information, he missed his opportunity. Jacob recalls Youth Aliyah explaining that they had been searching for him for many years when his name came up as a candidate for *Aliyah*. Unfortunately, contact with him was only made ten days after he passed the maximum age restriction for the certificate. As a result, Jacob remained in Britain on a *hachshara* before he was able to join a group making illegal *Aliyah* in 1947. This took him via Europe, where he worked in Displaced Persons' camps.

Individual preferences about where to go or not were also relevant for the Kindertransportees' migration patterns. The ability to pursue these goals was limited by a lack of resources, yet Kindertransportees still played a determining role in their resettlement plans. This point has frequently been overlooked in favour of the notion that Kindertransportees were minors led by older Jewish refugee migrants, or channelled into particular migration choices to fulfil quotas. This was the case for some Kindertransportees, yet a significant number were able to direct their own migration paths. This was often by way of refusing resettlement or travel plans. In 1947, Jacob rejected an offer to become naturalised in Britain, stating that 'it wasn't my ambition'.[37] Jacob's decision at age 19 went against his father's wishes. Kindertransportees who attended Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* maintained a certainty that they would not migrate to Israel and they never did. Debbie states that 'never, never, ever in a lifetime would I move to Israel. When I went to Polton House I had never heard of Zionism … It had no pull for me.'[38] On the other hand,

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[33] KA:QU/SUP.
[34] For further details about Scotland's limited welfare facilities see Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain;* Abrams, *The Orphan Country.*
[35] FWPC/Marthe.
[36] FWPC/Jacob.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] FWPC/Debbie.

Kindertransportees astutely sought out *hachsharot* training programmes as a means for migration to Palestine. Bratt recalls that 'it was always my dream to go to Israel, to train for that and by expressing that I was transferred to a *hachshara* or training establishment for Israel'.[39]

The Kindertransportees also often chose to follow friends in migration. Due to the terms and conditions of their entry to Britain - requiring them to enter unaccompanied - and the inability of most of their parents to exit Greater Germany thereafter, the vast majority of Kindertransportees felt a parental void for the duration of the war years.[40] This made peer-group ties extremely important to them as they felt they lacked maternal or paternal support.[41] These ties played a central role in influencing the minors' settlement choices. Elijah explains that he did not question his decision to follow his friends abroad.[42] This was particularly true in migration to Israel, where *Gar'in* (family groups) made *Aliyah* together. The *Gar'in* developed from friendship ties in *hachsharot* and would eventually provide the foundations for a new *kibbutz*. Friendship groups that were formed at Whittingehame Farm School today remain together in two main settlements in Israel: *Kfar* Hanassi and *Kibbutz* Lavi.[43]

In 1945, the majority of Kindertransportees remained unaccompanied or were now orphaned. Ute Benz has pointed to the traumatic implications for Kindertransportees of their separation and loss of family or home life during the war.[44] For some, the end to the war enabled family reunions and these became dominant features in migration plans. M. Boyd has shown how 'family and personal networks' emerged as important variables for international migration choices.[45] Elsie's parents were both killed in the Holocaust, yet she felt desperate to acquire her affidavit for the USA in order to 'come to my family, the only family I had'.[46] Elsie

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[39] WHMA/USC:36790.
[40] WHMA/USC:43932; FWPC/Elijah, Edna.
[41] FWPC/Edna, Elijah.
[42] FWPC/Elijah.
[43] See chapter 4 for more information about Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* centres; See also Amkraut, 'Zionist Attitudes towards YA from Germany'; Edelston, "Uprooting and Resettlement'*; 25 Years of YA*.
[44] Benz, 'Traumatization through Separation', 85-99.
[45] Boyd, 'Family and personal networks', 638-70.
[46] FWPC/Elsie.

eventually joined her 'American family' and lived with her aunt in the USA. Jacob wanted to migrate to Israel in order 'to join my brothers and my mother'.[47] Bratt recalls the negotiations that took place with his father, which brought them to the USA in 1948.[48] These decisions prioritised the need to keep the family together:

> They both approached me and said listen we don't want to stay in United Kingdom, we have relatives and you have to be with family together and we want to go to the United States, we would appreciate it if you would come with us.[49]

The importance of family reunions to migration patterns has been reflected in the statistics drawn from the recent worldwide Kindertransport survey. This has shown that family reunions were the second largest given cause for further migration (11%).[50] 44% of Kindertransportees who migrated to the USA did so in order to be reunited with family members. 46% of Kindertransportees were reunited with at least one parent. 64% of these were reunited with both parents and the place of reunion was highly influential in resettlement decisions; of these, 49% were reunited in Britain, 29% in Israel and 22% in the USA. These figures closely mirror the current national locations of Kindertransportees: 47% in Britain, 25% in Israel and 23% in the USA. Of those who were reunited in the USA, they tended to resettle in close proximity to where the reunion with their parents occurred, for example 63% were reunited in New York and 25% in California. Today, 42% of former members of the Kindertransport live in New York and 21% live in California, the two largest concentrations of Kindertransportee settlement in the USA. However, reunions did not always prescribe long-term settlement. 41% of Scotland's Kindertransportees who were reunited in the UK were reunited in Scotland, yet only 13% of Kindertransportees remained in Scotland.

The Kindertransportees' loss of a family was also influential in migration plans. Migration decisions were often influenced by memories and nostalgic beliefs in parents' dreams and wishes for their children. This belief was particularly used in

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[47] FWPC/Jacob.
[48] WHM/USC:36790.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] KA:QU/SUP.

relation to migrations to the USA or Israel. Interviewees explain that their destination had always been their parents' goal. Ariel states that he went to the USA because 'that was the plan' of his parents.[51] Isabel explains that, 'I always knew I was coming to America … my parents had planned to come to this country and I felt that it was my duty to come to this country'.[52] In the absence of a father, Jacob's brother had influenced his migration decision:

> My eldest brother … growing up without my father, he was my role model and that was where I was going. He was killed two and a half months after he arrived in this country. But this role model took me and kept me in the *kibbutz* for a long time.[53]

Migrating as displaced refugees

The Kindertransportees' migration story also reflects a connection to the wider movements in population demographics, especially those movements of displaced refugees following the Holocaust.[54] Their experience often prioritised choices that would provide a sense of belonging, security and enable a degree of permanency. Berger has emphasised the role of refugees' sense of permanent 'rootlessness' and their subsequent preoccupation with seeking a place of belonging.[55] These migratory objectives often lie behind reasons given for choosing to live in Israel. However, this point is not to be confused with the 'traditional diaspora experience', which Berger argues led all Jews to wait for the first opportunity to return to their homeland in Zion.[56] This was not applicable to Kindertransportees. They held a particular connection to post-Holocaust Jewish migratory patterns that drew even non-Zionists to Palestine in the search of socio-economic and political security.

For others, security and permanency were symbolised in the creation of a

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[51] FWPC/Ariel.
[52] FWPC/Isabel.
[53] FWPC/Jacob.
[54] See Mark Wyman, *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945-1951* (Cornell, 1998); Arieh Kochavi, *Post-Holocaust Politics: Britain, the United States, & Jewish Refugees, 1945–1948* (Chapel Hill, 2001).
[55] Berger, 'Jewish Identity and Jewish Destiny', 84.
[56] *Ibid.*

family. By 1945 an estimated 54% of all Kindertransportees were orphans.[57] Establishing roots, by way of a new family unit or place of belonging, dominated many of the Kindertransportees' activities. Marriage constituted 5% of given reasons for migration.[58] This particularly affected females. 11% of Kindertransportees who migrated to the USA did so because of marriage.[59]

As displaced persons, the Kindertransportees also sought to relocate to areas with more cultural and social familiarity to them. Kölmel has shown that cultural differences did play a role in creating problems for continental migrants settling in Scotland.[60] Some interviewees also expressed never feeling totally at home in Scotland or being familiar with Scottish culture.[61] This led to them relocating to areas popular with other refugees from Central Europe, who shared similar cultural and social backgrounds. Most Kindertransportees who remained in Scotland gravitated towards Glasgow, the hub of Jewish immigrant life in Scotland.[62] Those who migrated to England tended to opt for London. 62% of Kindertransportees in Britain settled in Greater London.[63] 67% of these Kindertransportees moved to North London, predominantly Middlesex and areas surrounding Hampstead and Golders Green. This mirrored the wider Jewish refugee communities' preferences for the affordable suburbs of North London. Berghahn's research has shown how hubs of continental enclaves emerged in these areas.[64] The former Kindertransportees' affinity to other Jewish refugees is also underlined by their preference for marriage partners: 30% married a Holocaust survivor and 40% of these are stated to be fellow Kindertransportees.[65]

Members of a Scottish diaspora

Despite some Kindertransportees feeling alienated or ambivalent towards Scotland,

[57] KA:QU/SUP.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] Kölmel, 'Problems of Settlement', 251.
[61] FWPC/Marthe, Rachel, Gabby, Johan.
[62] FWPC/Johan, Gabby, Rachel.
[63] KA:QU/SUP.
[64] See Berghahn, *Continental Britons.*
[65] *Ibid*.

many did feel a bond to the country. Most of these Kindertransportees had spent much of their formative years in Scotland and express their sense of attachment and loyalty to Scotland. Kindertransportees explain their sense of attachment in ambiguous terms and emphasis clichéd symbols of 'Scottishness'.[66] This connection, Eric Hobsbawm and Trevor-Roper explain, is based on 'invented traditions' and relies heavily upon 'retrospective cultural apparatus', most notable drawn from distorted perceptions of Highland culture.[67] This apparatus has created a heavily charged perception for Kindertransportees that they possess a distinct Scottish affiliation, regardless of whether they remained within Scotland's geographic territory. As McCarthy explains, migrants from Scotland use this apparatus to distinguish themselves 'firmly' from English migrants.[68] Kindertransportees explain their appropriation of specifically Scottish 'traditions' or cultural habits. These include public displays of 'Scottishness', such as celebrating Burns night, wearing tartan, drinking whiskey, but most especially the expression of a distinct Scottish language and idiom.[69] Jan recalls that by 1945 she had acquired a 'broad Scots accent'.[70] Jan, like many others, prefers to emphasise her Scottish accent rather than her German one. Marthe, who has remained in Ayrshire, states that, 'och yeah, I do feel Scottish … all my children live in Scotland'.[71]

Such perceived connections to Scotland and 'Scottishness' are not limited to Kindertransportees who continue to live within Scotland. Those who could not or did not wish to remain in Scotland frequently followed uniquely Scottish migration routes and settlement areas. Areas with a large Scottish contingency in Israel were particularly popular with Kindertransportees who had undertaken pre-*hachsharot* training in Scotland. Among the founders of *Kfar* Hanassi and *Kibbutz* Amiad were a significant number of Glaswegian Jews. Subsequent life narratives are constructed in a way that will firmly attach them to a wider Scottish diaspora migration story and

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[66] Combes, Hibbert, Hogg and Varey, 'Consuming Identity', 331.
[67] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 12; Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Traditions', in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 15.
[68] McCarthy, 'Scottish National Identities', 202.
[69] *Ibid.* 202.
[70] FWPC/Jan.
[71] FWPC/Marthe.

in doing so advocate a strong Scottish affiliation. Resident Kindertransportees of 'Scottish' settlements argue that their new community continues to resonate a Scottish connection to the present day. Combes, Hibbert, Hogg and Varey point to the popularity amongst enclaves of Scottish migrants to form various public institutions for the expression of their Scottish 'ethnocentrism'.[72] Anthony Smith includes parades, memorials, folklore, popular heroes/heroines and national recreations amongst his examples of these expressions of national identity.[73] *Kibbutz* Amiad organised annual Burns' Nights until the 1980s and one resident believes that there is still a strong Scottish influence on the character of the *Kibbutz*, including accent, humour and other specifically 'Scottish' cultural peculiarities.[74]

The seeming contradiction that exists within this narrative - expressions of a strong ethnocentric attachment to Scotland, juxtaposed with the decisions not to live in Scotland – is explained by Kindertransportees as arising from a number of additional factors. Kindertransportees were part of Scotland's economic emigration. T.H. Hollingsworth has shown that economic difficulties of the area were a particularly important factor driving Scottish youth into diaspora circumstances.[75] Economic reasons factored highly in the Kindertransportees' decision-making for migration. Because of a lack of financial support, Kindertransportees had to be self-supporting and financially astute. This meant that the desire for better jobs and greater economic opportunities dominated the plans of many after the war. 8% of the Kindertransportees state that they migrated for opportunities: work, economic gain and educational advancement.[76]

Economic migrants tended to follow financial opportunities south of the border or overseas. Kindertransportees who remained in Scotland tended to gravitate towards either Glasgow (67%) or Edinburgh.[77] However, the majority left Scotland and moved to large cities, especially to London. The USA also offered greater financial rewards. 28% of those who migrated to the USA did so for opportunities

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[72] Combes, Hibbert, Hogg and Varey, 'Consuming Identity', 329.
[73] Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (London, 1991).
[74] FWPC/Benson.
[75] Berthoff, review of Hollingsworth, 'Migration'.
[76] KA:QU/SUP.
[77] *Ibid.*

pertaining to either monetary or material gains, work or educational opportunities.[78] 20% of these migrated specifically to take advantage of educational opportunities.[79] These were most commonly made possible by military service during the war, which qualified the Kindertransportees for opportunities offered by the GI Bill of Rights. For whatever reason, education emerges as an important draw for Kindertransportees' resettlement choices. In tandem with educational advancement, the desire for economic betterment equated to 40% of Kindertransportees who migrated for better opportunities.[80] Business promotions directed one Kindertransportee to Venezuela, where he worked as regional manager of a large company until retirement.[81]

The Kindertransportees' decision to migrate overseas was therefore not automatically linked to a desire to leave Scotland. Instead, it reflected the Kindertransportees' pragmatic approach to their lives after 1945. Elsie states:

> I would probably have gone wherever I could make a living, I had learnt that there was a relationship between where you lived, what you do and how you survive, I think my first thing if things had gone normally and there was a teaching job in Scotland I would have gone there … it's just a matter of history and familiarity … you don't expose yourself more than you have to, to stranger things. I had already had plenty of experience of being uprooted and I would have had to make still another adjustment. I would never have said 'no, I could never go to England'.[82]

Bauer reiterates this point as she explains the sharp improvement in lifestyle after migrating to the USA: 'during the war we were permitted one pat of butter once a week … in Ellis Island we had all the butter we could eat … in Ellis Island we had napkins everyday … the contrast was so big.'[83]

Kindertransportees living abroad frequently still express a strong affinity to all things Scottish and point to an underlining connection with the Scottish diaspora

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[78] *Ibid.*
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] FWPC/Bert:Memoir.
[82] FWPC/Elsie.
[83] WHMA/SC:RG-50.166*03.

community. Despite leaving Scotland, Benson still feels that he is equally the product of the Scots as much as he is the Czechs and the Jews. He states: 'I have very good and close feelings to my Scottish heritage and my Czech heritage in the last couple of years.'[84] Elsie, who now lives in the USA, proudly asserts an abundance of perceived Scottish national sentiments, prejudices and cultural peculiarities:

> It feels familiar hearing the Scottish accent … A really warm feeling about anything to do with Scotland.
> I am somewhat prejudiced … how can you grow up in Scotland otherwise, but you are a nice *Sassenach*, but I was never exposed very much to English people.[85]

Post-war demographic shifts and implications of migration upon broader life stories

The trends that emerge in the Kindertransportees' post-war migration are also reflective of general post-war demographic shifts around the world. This was very much linked to ideological goals for a better life in the aftermath of the war. This drew a substantial number of Scots to locations across the world, such as Australia and New Zealand. Kindertransportees who took these routes express the importance of this geographical separation of their new 'home' from associations of war. 5% of Kindertransportees migrated to alternative destinations to England, Israel and the USA, instead choosing Nepal, South America, New Zealand and Canada. One Kindertransportee chose Ottawa in Canada as an experiment for a new life and another migrated to New Zealand to escape the associations of war and violence with Europe.[86]

Ideological commitments, such as communism, pacifism or Zionism, drew Kindertransportees to new countries that offered to meet their Utopian ideals. Zionism had a significant support network amongst Scotland's Jews.[87]

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[84] FWPC/Benson.
[85] FWPC/Elsie.
[86] FWPC/Ruth.
[87] See Braber, *Jews in Glasgow;* Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry;* Collins; *Second City Jewry*.

Kindertransportees were commonly nurtured towards a Zionist-inspired lifestyle and a significant number underwent the two-year training programme at one of Scotland's pre-*hachsharot*. Chapter Four has shown that this did not automatically infuse Zionist zeal into all trainees. Nonetheless, it did lead a significant number of Scotland's Kindertransportees to choose to migrate to Israel, sometimes temporarily, based on their humanitarian or Zionist beliefs. Some went to aid the influx of destitute Holocaust survivors, while others wished to help establish the infrastructure needed for the new nation. This included founding a *kibbutz* and offering specific skills in other fields, such as nursing gained during the war.[88] Between 1947 and 1953, Kindertransportees also volunteered for the Israel Defence Forces.[89] Long-term ideological commitments, especially Zionism, were central in many decisions for resettlement. 19% of Scotland's Kindertransportees stated that Zionism was their main reason for migration. Unsurprisingly, all of those who stated 'Zionism' as their reason for migration chose to make *Aliyah* to Israel.

The desire to dislocate themselves from being Jewish was also important in some Kindertransportees' migratory choices. Kindertransportees explain that this was because they feared the return of anti-Semitism in the future and sought to protect their new families from undue persecution and social insecurity. Debbie does not want her children to be Jewish.[90] She still fears for the inevitable impact of anti-Semitism in the future and has distanced herself and her family from other Jewish communities in London. Kindertransportees in Britain and the USA often relocated to areas isolated from Jewish communities. In England, locations such as Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, Worcestershire and Henley-on-Thames were chosen, where Kindertransportees sought little or no participation with the nearest Jewish community.[91] In the USA, individual Kindertransportees settled in areas with limited Jewish activity, including Brewer in Maine, Beachwood in Ohio, Highland Park in Illinois and Reading in Pennsylvania.[92]

The Kindertransportees' experience of migration has had far-reaching

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[88] FWPC/Rachel.
[89] FWPC/Rachel, Edna.
[90] FWPC/Debbie.
[91] KA:QU/SUP.
[92] *Ibid.*

implications on their broader life stories. The tripartite structure of their migration, as mentioned previously, has developed disjointed and unattached sections to their lives. Kindertransportees reflect on the lack of overarching continuity across their lifespan. Elsie, who narrated her Austrian, Scottish and American lives as three defining eras, notes that her greatest remorse is the lack of continuity compared to her husband's life:

> I miss the continuity in my life very much and as I get older perhaps even more … I do not know anyone from my first life except my cousin, but nobody has known me throughout my three lives … I have a different relationship with all these people, that's the one thing I really feel very jealous of my husband, who has a continuum, all his life of the same people and the same places… a normal life.[93]

The reason for the Kindertransportees' first migration has also had unusual implications upon their relationship with their migration story. Their forced migration from Greater Germany bolstered the importance of Scotland in their lives. Kindertransportees suggest a preference for offering Scotland as their point of origin in life, rather than Germany.[94] Forced migration and memories of persecution and prejudice, along with the fate of their families, have made most Kindertransportees seek to amputate the beginning part of their life story. This has resulted in a detached approach to the narration of the first section of their lives, with emphasis on historical occurrences and less personal anecdotes.[95]

The amputation of their origins with Greater Germany is often expressed in the acquisition of an alternative citizenship. Figure 6.3. reveals that 58% of Kindertransportees chose to take the opportunity to gain British citizenship. No Kindertransportees who participated in the KA:QU/SUP survey chose to re-engage with past citizenships and none returned to live in their countries of origin. It is interesting that 20% have gained joint citizenship between two adopted countries. British citizenship is most often coupled with Israeli citizenship and explained for security reasons in that they wished to keep as many escape routes open as possible

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[93] FWPC/Elsie.
[94] *Ibid.*
[95] FWPC/Ariel.

in later life.

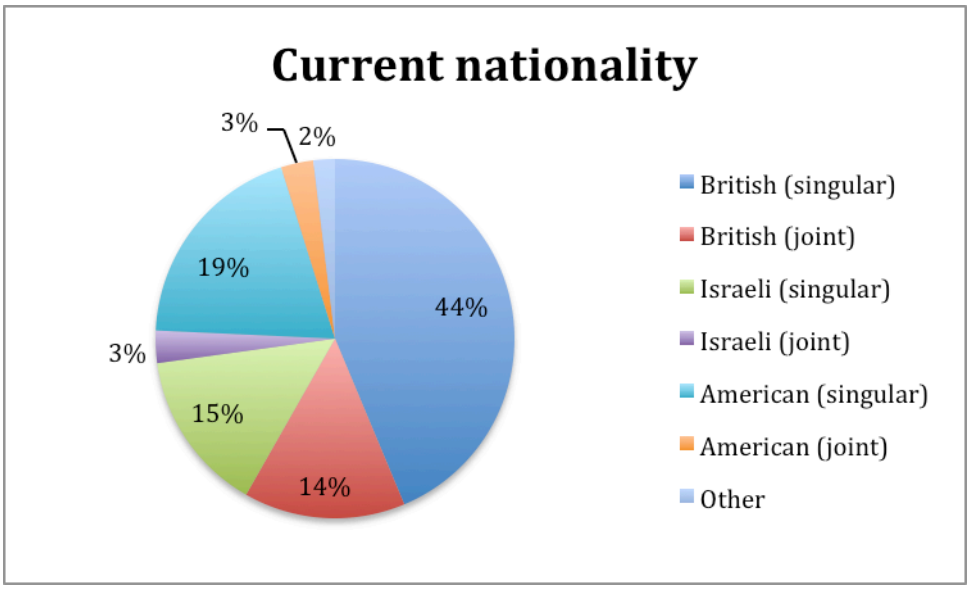

Figure 6.3. Current nationality

Source: KA:QU/SUP.

The connection to Germany or other points of origin was sometimes re-established in later life. As mentioned previously, the majority of Kindertransportees lost their mother tongue in Scotland and struggled in later life to grasp the basics of their first language.[96] However, the progression of old age has brought surprises for some. Elsie recalls that in later life, 'out of the blue, all of a sudden' she was looking through some German text and 'it was back', she could 'understand it … read it … like someone switched on a light'.[97] One interviewee explained her contradictory relationship with her hometown Kassel:

> I've been back to Kassel a few times and I feel I belong there, it's terrible to say that and I shouldn't feel like that. But I don't feel strange in Kassel. But I feel part of it.[98]

The uncertain relationship to their places of origin felt by the Kindertransportees has created confusion concerning their correct national identity in

[96] *Ibid.*
[97] *Ibid.*
[98] FWPC/Marthe.

later life. Rachel, who still lives in Scotland, states that she could never make claim to be 'Scottish', but that she does say, 'I am British.'[99] This trend has also become apparent amongst English Kindertransportees. They express the belief that being 'British' is less demanding for foreign-born citizens.[100] They suggest that they would feel fraudulent if they claimed to be Scottish and that they could never tick all the social and cultural boxes they feel are necessary to qualify. Rachel believes that possessing foreign accents and customs bar her from being a real Scot.[101]

The desire to belong and to feel like a true national citizen or community member has also had a central bearing on the Kindertransportees' broader life stories. Kindertransportees who went to the USA stress the privileged position they enjoyed joining an immigrant country, which allowed them to shed their refugee status at an early stage.[102] In contrast, Kindertransportees who remained in Britain express their frustration at being considered outsiders, believing that they never truly integrated. Rachel explains:

> I can't say I am Scottish because I don't belong to the McDonalds, the McClouds, the McCandels … I always felt an outsider, I always felt that I had to be very careful and I never felt part of it, I couldn't, I knew I was a refugee and I knew there were limitations to what I could expect and that I could demand.[103]

Kindertransportees point to the importance of birth and blood for true belonging. Similarly, Ugolini has shown that Italian migrants, including those who are second generation, continue today to express a sense of being different and an outsider to Scottish society.[104]

The Kindertransportees also express feeling detached and different to other refugees arriving in Britain from Greater Germany after 1945. This was mainly due to their elongated stay in Britain, which had led to their Anglicisation and alienated them from continental customs. This is perhaps best projected in

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[99] FWPC/Rachel.
[100] FWPC/Noah.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] FWPC/Jan, Isabel.
[103] *Ibid.*
[104] Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy 'OTHER'', 137-158.

Kindertransportees' testimonies to their difficult adjustment with their parents after being reunited.[105] They had most often experienced separate and very different lives during the war years. By 1945, the Kindertransportees express feeling that they were very different people to their parents. Jan recalls the culture shock when she was reunited with her parents:

> Total shock … my mother had become ultra religious and had put on a wig, and they were very European and I was an assistant buyer and dressed to the hilt … they left a little girl and now I was totally different.[106]

Conclusion

Scotland experienced a mass exodus of Kindertransportees after 1945. However, this study has intended to show that these statistics should not be interpreted as a definitive indication of Scotland's limited influence on the Kindertransportees' future lives. The migration of the Kindertransportees from Scotland was the result of a complex mixture of influences. These were connected to their status as Kindertransportees – unaccompanied trans-migrant minors – displaced persons, Scottish residents and members of a wartime generation.

The Kindertransportees' migration story is very different to other migration narratives of the same period. It unusually possesses a tripartite structure with three substantial settlement experiences: early migration from Greater Germany, acclimatisation to Scottish society during the war years and then readjustment to new circumstances in the wake of 1945. This has developed a unique migration story, unlike other refugees.

The Kindertransportees' migration narrative possesses an array of discernable and unique features. Few sought repatriation and this produced the tripartite progressive migration structure, whereby they made two significant migrations encompassing three countries. The war ensured that most spent their formative years within Scotland, and this meant that Scotland became a significant section of their

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[105] See also Barnett, 'The Other Side of the Abyss'; Benz, 'Traumatization through Separation', 85-99.
[106] FWPC/Jan.

life story. The mass exodus of Kindertransportees from Scotland must not be assumed to represent a common desire to leave Scotland. Instead, Kindertransportees very much echo the Scottish diaspora narrative, whereby they were responsive to the push/pull dichotomy of Scotland.[107] This pushed many Kindertransportees out of Scotland in order to seek financial security and economic betterment.

In the diaspora, Kindertransportees commonly migrated towards Scottish enclaves, finding cultural and social familiarity amongst other Scottish migrants. Even those who remained outside a Scottish community express a continued affinity towards Scotland, its people and heritage. Interviewees have revealed the powerful influence of 'Scotland the brand' and the role that associated elements have had upon migrants' perceptions of 'Scottishness'. As well as expressing a celebratory connection to ambiguous clichéd symbols of Scottishness, Kindertransportees also reveal the importance of England as the distinct demarcation of not being Scottish. Kindertransportees express a prevalence of Scottish nationalist sentiments. In interviews, Kindertransportees have utilised the Gaelic term *Sassenach* to refer derogatively to an English person as an inferior outsider or non-Scot.[108] Scotland's Kindertransportees have even established this national divide in regards to commemorative events and reunions of the Kindertransport.[109] The emergence of SAROK, Scotland's own national Kindertransport Association, perhaps best articulates the depth of the Scottish legacy upon the Kindertransportees who were placed north of the border.

The complexity of their forced migratory story, however, has meant that, despite this loyalty, most feel unable to proclaim that they are Scottish. Instead, Kindertransportees' proclaim 'Britishness' and reflect a deep-rooted insecurity about membership and belonging. As Kiely, Bechofer and McCrone have argued, the idea of being 'truly Scottish', having been both born and brought up within Scotland, prevents Kindertransportees from feeling able to ascribe them selves a complete

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[107] See T.H. Hollingsworth, *Migration: A study based on Scottish experience between 1939 and 1964* (Edinburgh, 1970); Angela McCarthy, 'Personal Narratives of Irish and Scottish migration, 1921-1965: "For spirit and adventure"'(Manchester, 2007).
[108] FWPC/Rachel, Elsie.
[109] *Ibid.*

Scottish identity.[110] The Kindertransportees make a distinction between 'feeling Scottish and definitively saying 'I am Scottish''.[111] A desire to counter these insecurities and displacement issues became central to many Kindertransportees' migration and resettlement decisions. These often prioritised family reunions, daily stability, permanency, roots, belonging and a sense of membership to a group, over an immediate Scottish connection. These priorities drew many Kindertransportees from Scotland, but not necessarily from the concept of being part of a Scottish people. Bermant once noted that 'when Scottish Jews assimilate they tend to become Anglicised rather than Scotticised'.[112] This does ring true for Kindertransportees who have remained in Scotland and who struggle to attribute to themselves true Scottish membership. Yet for those who left Scotland it seems that they have clung more closely to the idea of having been 'Scotticised' and it was this legacy of having once been part of Scotland that emerges as the most profound Scottish inheritance for the Kindertransportees.

[110] Kiely, Bechhofer and McCrone, 'Birth, blood and belonging', 152.
[111] *Ibid.* 164.
[112] Bermant, 'Memoir of an E-European immigrant to Glasgow', 59.

Conclusion

> It is not a small thing, in three years of suffering without parallel, to have given to ten thousand children the opportunity to grow up in an atmosphere of decency and normality, to work, to play, to laugh and to be happy and to assume their rightful heritage as free men and women.[1]

> You see I was never loved – from early childhood on. My father hanged himself when I was a year old. Since then I was torn away from my mother, cast into the hands of greedy creatures who were eager to get the money for me but not myself. I was sent to twenty different places in a year, beaten and treated like an outcast. I spent a third of my life on the streets. Love and affection, or mere friendliness was above the sphere of my imagination.[2]

I opened this thesis with reference to the first statement by Dorothy Hardisty. The quotation conveys a zealous belief in the success of the Kindertransport scheme as a rescue operation that provided 10,000 'children' with 'decency, normality' and freedom in Britain. The second quotation was written by a Kindertransportee, approximately in 1943, and reflects a less positive impression of their rescue experience in Britain. Juxtaposed against one another, they point to the contradictions and competing narratives that have undermined balanced interpretations of the Kindertransport episode. My evaluations have sought to demonstrate that the event and experience of reception, care and resettlement cannot be conclusively placed with either evaluation. Instead, my findings reflect a highly diverse and incredibly complex historical episode, which had many different far-reaching implications for the Kindertransportees. These were both positive and negative.

The Kindertransport took an estimated 800 minors to Scotland. There they experienced a mixed reception and varied types of care; they also embarked on many different resettlement journeys. Many of these features took Kindertransportees away from Scotland, but all of them stamped an impressionable mark on the minors'

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[1] Cited in Turner .... *And the Policeman smiled,* 1.
[2] MCPC/Drew, Letters, 16 May 1943.

broader life stories. In this thesis, I have sought to break open narratives of the Kindertransport episode and perceptions about its impact on the Kindertransportees. In doing so, I have challenged entrenched notions about the event and the experience of the Kindertransportees.

These arguments have been channelled through a number of research questions derived from the overall query: how were the Kindertransportees received, cared for and nurtured in Scotland and how did this impact upon their broader life stories? Within this question lie a number of more specific queries. Did altruistic motivations and a kindred spirit for Jewish refugees inform the reception of Kindertransportees? Alternatively, was it rooted in a pragmatic approach to immigration pressures and a desire to protect the status quo? Were the Kindertransportees received as Kindertransportees? Did their status in Britain define the circumstances of their care in Scotland? Or was it informed by other ideologies within a heritage of Scottish welfare? How did these welfare provisions shape their attachment to Judaism? Was Judaism even a significant theology for the Kindertransportees? What role did Zionism play in their Jewish experiences in Scotland? How has growing up in a residential care environment impacted upon their later life stories? What psychological implications do Kindertransportees connect to this upbringing? How have these ramifications been expressed in their migratory patterns? Does Scotland have any bearing upon these? Was there even any relevance to the Scottish aspect of their experience?

The crux to each of the answers is diversity. At the heart of the diverse events and experiences were the individual Kindertransportees. The Kindertransportees represented a kaleidascope of individuals, each possessing their own combination of religious faith, Jewish affiliation, family background, cultural upbringing and socio-economic normality. The unique combination of these characteristics, compounded with an equally mixed experience of reception, care and nurturing experience in Scotland, has generated a complex response to my research questions.

Another overarching argument that I have tried to convey is that historical analysis of the Kindertransport episode should always take in the broader picture. This relates not only to the Kindertransportees' broader life stories, but also to those

of the host community. As such, the event and experience of the Kindertransport in Scotland, or Britain, cannot be reduced to a success or failure narrative or evaluated within an isolated research bubble. It did possess negative features, which echo Kindertransportees' criticisms. However, these should not be removed from the context of Scottish philanthropy, immigration policy, childcare approaches, national agendas, or general beliefs and ideas held by the Scottish people. The Kindertransportees' experience of reception, care and nurture in Scotland was a product of its environment. The Kindertransportees' lives were responsive to this environment, rather than the other way around. Kindertransportees were never the central or only concern for policies and procedures.

The contextual circumstances afflicting Scotland on a national, political and socio-economic level had a defining role in the manner in which the Kindertransportees were to be received. These features influenced the general public's perception of the new arrivals. The Kindertransportees were ascribed particular official and unofficial terms and labels in Scotland. This officially and unofficially defined their status. This included being dependent refugees, temporary trans-migrants, alien migrants, innocent children who were victims of persecution, orphans for adoption and members of a respectable social class with wealthy backgrounds.

The Jewish community in Scotland also applied associated labels to the Kindertransportees. Neither Anglo-Jewry nor Scotland's specific Jewish communities received the Kindertransportees in a kindred spirit or as religious brethren. Instead, they viewed the new migrants as Jewish co-religionists from a foreign nation. This defined the Kindertransportees as part of a larger troublesome migrant community threatening to stir up anti-Semitism in Britain. In response, Anglo-Jewry sought to minimise their Jewishness and instead to emphasise merely their non-Aryan status in Greater Germany.

This meant that the Kindertransportees were afflicted with restrictive immigration terms and conditions, usual for curtailing the presence of aliens in Britain. These terms and conditions responded first and foremost to fears about the dangers of immigrants for British austerity and security. The feelings of the Kindertransportees were a secondary consideration. The British authorities were,

however, more sympathetic to the trans-migrant minor and this meant that the Kindertransportees' temporary transitional status in Britain became a defining feature in their care experience. Care strategies prioritised schemes that would aid their imminent re-migration. They also adhered to restrictions placed upon Kindertransportees' civil liberties in Britain, most notably employment limitations. This precipitated paternalistic welfare strategies.

The pressures of supporting a large population of dependent migrants necessitated philanthropic transitions within respective welfare organisations and philanthropic networks already in operation. These shifts moved towards a greater degree of centralisation and regulation. This occurred at the expense of the autonomy of local and regional welfare services in Scotland. English welfare preferences and arising philanthropic agendas in London increasingly monopolised care strategies in Scotland. These changes also overstretched and financially weakened existing Scottish resources for welfare. This led to disunity and a fragmented, artificial, welfare system.

The Kindertransportees became a financial burden and a cumbersome responsibility and, as a result, were often not wanted by their host community or individual caregivers. Philanthropic enthusiasm waned and became preoccupied with new charitable endeavours created by the war. The host community and caregivers were also receptive to derogatory and ingrained prejudices. These tended to be drawn from preconceived ideas about the Kindertransportees' status in Scotland as foreigners, immigrants or Jews. The Kindertransportees were fundamentally outsiders and, in a time of war, potential enemies. This could define them as non-Scots and even non-Jews.

The care and nurturing initiatives into which the Kindertransportees were filtered aimed to ameliorate these cultural discrepancies. The aim was to aid discrete and smooth temporary integration into a local community. Specific strategies were formulated for the Kindertransportees based on the desire for them to be good migrants, useful migrants, trans-migrants and invisible migrants. Kindertransportees were to become Anglicised whilst at the same time they were to be prepared for their migration from Britain.

Although there were a number of strategies specifically created to meet the Kindertransportees' needs, for the most part they were absorbed into pre-existing welfare strategies and provisions. This meant that the popular ideas that motivated British philanthropy also monopolised the manner of their care. A legacy of middle-class reforming values designed to tackle the social ills of the working classes dominated British philanthropic initiatives. Scotland possessed an array of pre-existing welfare schemes based on these agendas. Kindertransportees were absorbed into these schemes, while new residential facilities for trans-migrant minors also adhered to these traditions.

British philanthropy's preferences for Behaviourist theories for tackling the deprived child in care also shaped the Kindertransportees' care and nurture. These valued regimentation, routine and strict discipline, whilst also prioritising physical care rather than psychological welfare. Remedial management strategies sought to tackle juvenile delinquency, while pro-natalist inspired schemes intended to prevent its emergence. These schemes utilised gendered curriculums, encouraging typical roles for girls and boys.

The religious care and nurture of the Kindertransportees was also defined by usual approaches to care of Jewish minors in Scotland. These tended to be indiscriminate in placements, pragmatically utilising all available resources, both Jewish and non-Jewish. This meant that Kindertransportees' care in Scotland was often non-Jewish. This changed the relationship of the Kindertransportees with their Jewish heritage. However, this transition in attachment to Judaism also occurred in Jewish living environments. It had also begun pre-migration and has continued into broader life stories.

Kindertransportees' personal narratives, as well as public narratives, popular historical consciousness and existing academic evaluations have all too often been characterised by a dogmatic epitaph for lost Jewish youth. This perception has continued a battle that existed during the war years between Orthodox and more secular Jewish philanthropists concerning the most appropriate approach to adopt for Kindertransportee placements. The former argued that negligence by the RCM led to the mass estrangement of Kindertransportees from Judaism. Perpetuating this evaluation is unhelpful and far too simplistic. It draws on the idea that Jewish

affiliation constitutes membership to a distinct ethnic community, rather than being a shared theological belief. It also draws heavily on Orthodox traditions to determine membership of Kindertransportees to the Jewish faith. This ignores Kindertransportees who arrived from secular, non-practising homes and those who now adopt this preference in later life, yet still consider themselves to be Jewish.

The estrangement of Kindertransportees from Judaism also assumes that there was only a linear move away from piety. This ignores Kindertransportees who adopted greater Jewish religiosity or engagement with Judaism. This also occurred within non-Jewish care environments. Jewish care could also disconnect Kindertransportees from Judaism, offering inappropriate Jewish lifestyles. Kindertransportees could choose not to participate with their Jewish heritage, while others felt unable to engage with Scotland's Jews. Kindertransportees' Jewish lifestyle preferences did not always tally with Scotland's Jewish community. Kindertransportees were also influenced by an *Ostjuden/Westjuden* dichotomy and this could result in an inheritance of inter-communal prejudices.

The absence of Jewish piety can also not be presumed to correspond with the absence of a Jewish connection or lifestyle. Zionism emerged as one of the most important forms of engagement with a Jewish heritage amongst Kindertransportees. This could discourage piety and emphasise cultural Jewish pursuits, which Orthodox Jews may consider took the Kindertransportees out of the Jewish fold. The connection between the Kindertransport episode and the Zionist movement during this period has frequently been overlooked. Zionism influenced a large part of the Kindertransportees' care in Scotland. This was most evident within Scotland's pre-*hachsharot*. These centres catered for the Kindertransportees' *Halutzic* indoctrination and agricultural training in order for them to adopt the role of *Olim*. However, it has also been argued that despite Zionism's major role in the Kindertransport story, its influence on the Kindertransportees was not total or all encompassing. The Kindertransportees often rejected its ideology in favour of familiar non-sectarian diaspora lifestyles. It could prove difficult to convince a large contingency of aspiring youth that hard physical manual labour in uncomfortable rural conditions in Palestine was preferable to life in the diaspora.

Pre-*hachsharot* centres, along with hostels, orphanages and boarding schools, accounted for a large portion of the Kindertransportees' time growing up in Scotland. These residential centres emerge as important features within Kindertransportee personal narratives and are often remembered as the determining factor in their broader life stories. Kindertransportees use the experience of growing up in an institutional environment to explain why their lives unfolded as they did. The construction of these neat narrative packages has highlighted important correlations with broader public narratives. They most especially relate to those concerning the Scottish deprived child in institutional care.

Within Kindertransportee narratives and those of the deprived Scottish child, the main features and themes that emerge stress struggle, hardship, endurance and survival. However, they do not point to extreme psychological suffering or physical pain. Instead, they focus on having missed out on a normal family and home life due to the insufficiencies of care provisions in an institutional environment. These features, they argue, led to institutionalisation and emotional deprivation. Their experiences are perceived as being directly responsible for their psychological health in later life. Kindertransportees argue that they subsequently struggled to recreate or readjust to family life or to reengage with a wider community. These narratives do not dwell on victimhood, but instead more often stress rebellion or adolescent delinquency. They also emphasise survival and detail their eventual independent lifestyles.

The life histories of the Kindertransportees also point to a unique pattern of further migration and resettlement. These reflect a combination of influences from a number of larger demographic shifts during the period. Their trans-migrant status in Britain has led to a unique tripartite structure to migration narratives. Kindertransportees emphasise their three distinct and unattached lives during the migration process. However, the Kindertransportees' migration patterns also often mirrored those of the wider international community of displaced refugees. In doing so, they explain that resettlement choices were based on family reunions or the desire to establish permanency and security. Kindertransportees were also reliant on visa acquisitions and took opportunities when they arose. They were also sometimes able to determine their own destinations. These choices reflect the centrality of their

status in Scotland as independent adults with few geographic ties. They could take risks or pursue personal goals. In doing so, they participated in Britain's post-war demographic shifts. These were rooted in aspirations for a better life.

The Kindertransportees' migrations were also informed by Scotland's specific regional migratory trends. These predominantly pushed Kindertransportees out of the region, largely as a result of socio-economic pressures. This trend is indicative that the mass exodus of Kindertransportees was not a reflection of Scotland's limited legacy upon the minors, but instead reveals that there existed a large number of overriding factors that could determine migration choices. Nevertheless, Scotland was not relevant to all the Kindertransportees in the region. Some Kindertransportees continue to refer to their Scottish placement as their time in England.[3] For these Kindertransportees, the distinction between Scotland and England was never clear.

However, for other Kindertransportees who chose to leave the country, Scotland is still used to define who they are today. Many of these Kindertransportees have migrated to Scottish enclaves around the world. They have adopted Scottish diaspora trends and advocate Scottish nationalist sentiments. These Kindertransportees can sometimes express an inherent disdain for England and even the 'English Kinder'.[4] They use the term *Sassenach* to derogatively differentiate the English other. Upon meeting me, one interviewee, who now lives in the USA, expressed her disappointment that, in spite of coming from Edinburgh University, I was not actually Scottish, but explained that despite my unfortunate English origins I was a 'nice *Sassenach*' and welcome in her home.[5] For these Kindertransportees, the meaning of being Scottish remains heavily charged in their imagination. However, none, not even those who remain today in Scotland, state that they are or were Scottish. Instead, the 'British' membership is proudly stated, juxtaposed to their physical origins and cultural heritage with Scotland.

Despite their inability to express a Scottish identity, the Kindertransportees who left Scotland did become part of the Scottish diaspora. They maintain an affinity with the Scottish nation and people. They express a deep enthusiasm for the

[3] FWPC/Edna.
[4] FWPC/Rachel.
[5] FWPC/Elsie.

perceived cultural traditions of the Scots. These are often drawn from clichéd symbols of Highland culture. Such Kindertransportees state a love for the sound of the Gaelic accent. They have an insatiable appetite for Scottish celebrations, such as (Robert) Burns' night. They have an enthusiasm for an opportune moment to don a kilt or dance a Ceilidh. They greet Scots as brethren. On reflection, perhaps the greatest impact Scotland has had upon its resident Kindertransportees has been the idea of the Scottish nation, aloft within the British Isles, and the notion of having once been, albeit almost, part of a distinct Scottish people.

Appendix 1: The Kindertransport Association's worldwide Kindertransport questionnaire

1

KINDERTRANSPORT SURVEY

'Making New Lives in Britain'
January 2007

PART 2: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Kindertransportee Details

Date of Birth: 15 (DD) 06 (MM) 27 (YEAR)

Town & Country of origin: BERLIN, GERMANY

Original nationality (eg German, Austrian, Czech): GERMAN

Male ☑ Female ☐

Parents' religious affiliation (eg Jewish Orthodox, Liberal, other): JEWISH – LIBERAL

Current location (town, country): WEYBRIDGE, GB

Current nationality (eg British, American, German, Czech): BRITISH

Current religious affiliation (Jewish Orthodox, Liberal, other): JEWISH REFORM

2. Departure on Kindertransport

Point of departure: BERLIN

Travelled via (eg Holland, Hamburg): HOLLAND

Date of departure: 01 (DD) 12 (MM) 38 (YEAR)

Details of any accompanying brothers or sisters:

Age..... Male ☐ Female ☐

Age..... Male ☐ Female ☐ NONE

Age..... Male ☐ Female ☐

3. Arrival in Britain

Place(s) of arrival: Port (eg Harwich): HARWICH

Main Railway station (eg Liverpool Street):

Age on arrival (years): 11½

Date of arrival: 02 (DD) 12 (MM) 38 (YEAR)

Separated from siblings: Yes ☑ No ☐

6. Evacuation & Internment

i. Were you evacuated Age ..... Yes ☐ No ☑

Location/ Lodged with.....

ii. Were you interned Age ..... Yes ☐ No ☑
How long for.....

Location/ Name of Ship if applicable .....

7. Education

Type of school prior to emigration HÖHERE SCHULE DER JÜDISCHEN GEMEINDE, BERLIN

School(s) attended in Britain GREEN PARK COLLEGE, BATH

..... Age at leaving School 16

Further & Higher Education: institution/college/university .....

.....

Please *circle*: full time/part time/night school/technical training/other .....

Scholarships/bursaries, qualifications, diplomas, degrees, awards, civil decorations, etc.

.....

.....

8. Employment and War Service

Unpaid domestic work in the home Yes ☐ No ☑

Type(s) of paid employment.....

Age began work.....

War work (incl. nursing, fire service, other) 1 YEAR AMBULANCE DRIVER

Did you work for yourself Yes ☐ No ☑

Trade/Profession/highest position achieved.....

.....

Voluntary activities (eg Home Guard, ARP, fire watching) .....

Did you serve in the forces/other uniformed service Yes ☑ No ☐

Branch and length of service RASC, 3½ YEARS

Were you posted abroad Yes ☑ No ☐

Where..... EGYPT - MIDDLE EAST LAND FORCES

Final rank T/CAPT Military decorations.....

9. What was the fate of your parents

Father ..... SUICIDE, BERLIN 1942

Mother..... DIED, CANCER, 1933

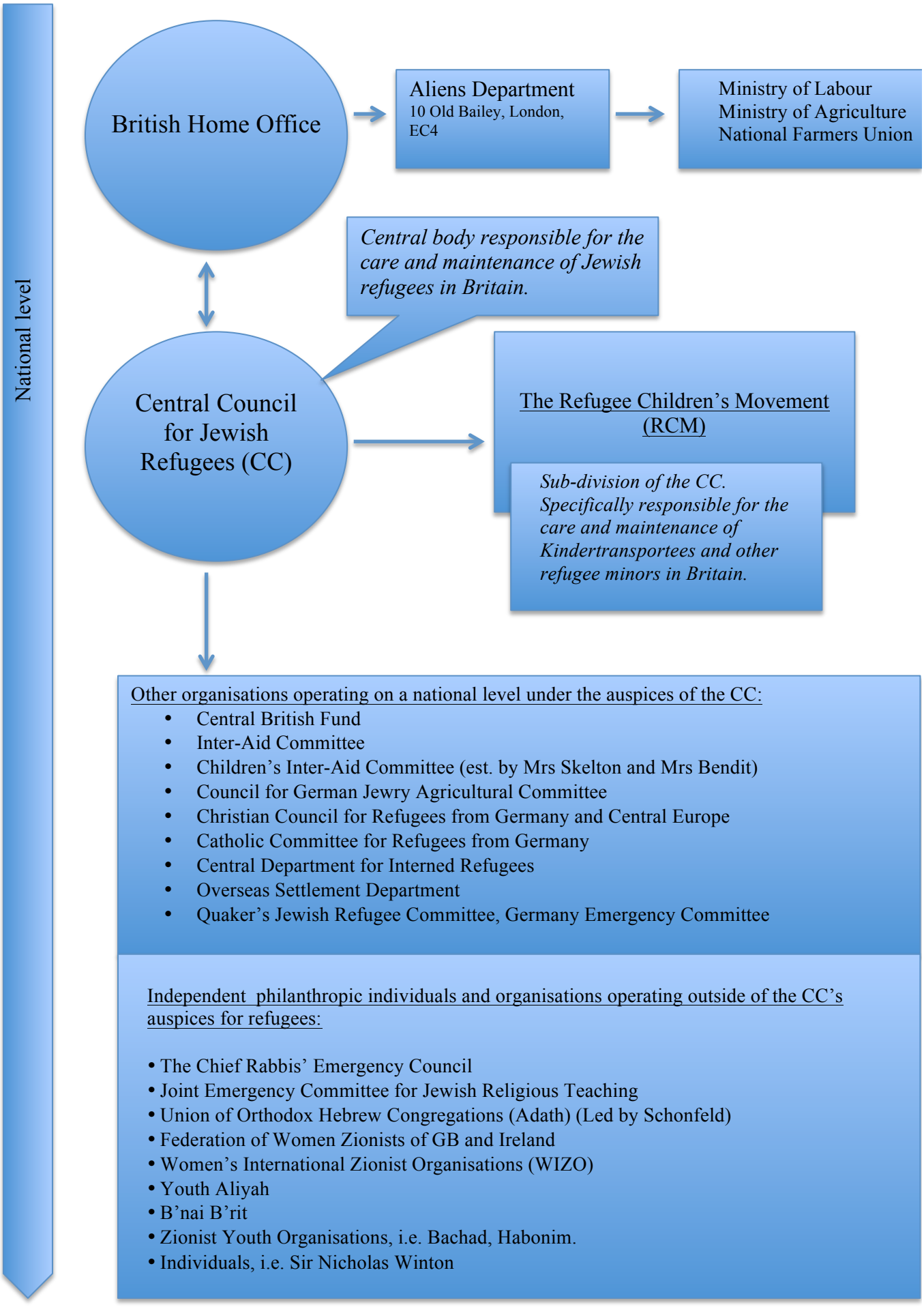
If you were re-united, when and where.....

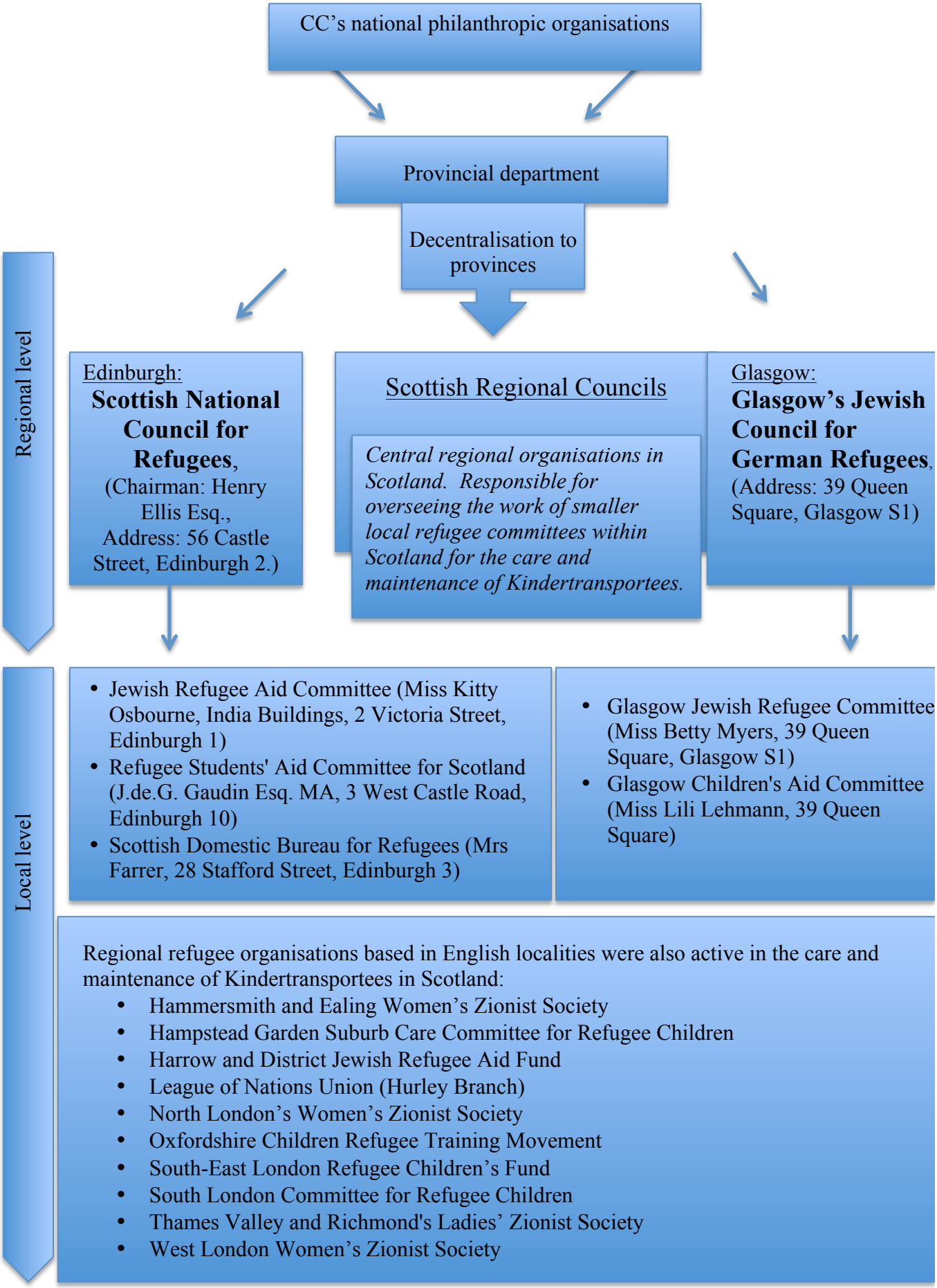
BROTHER - AUSCHWITZ, 1943

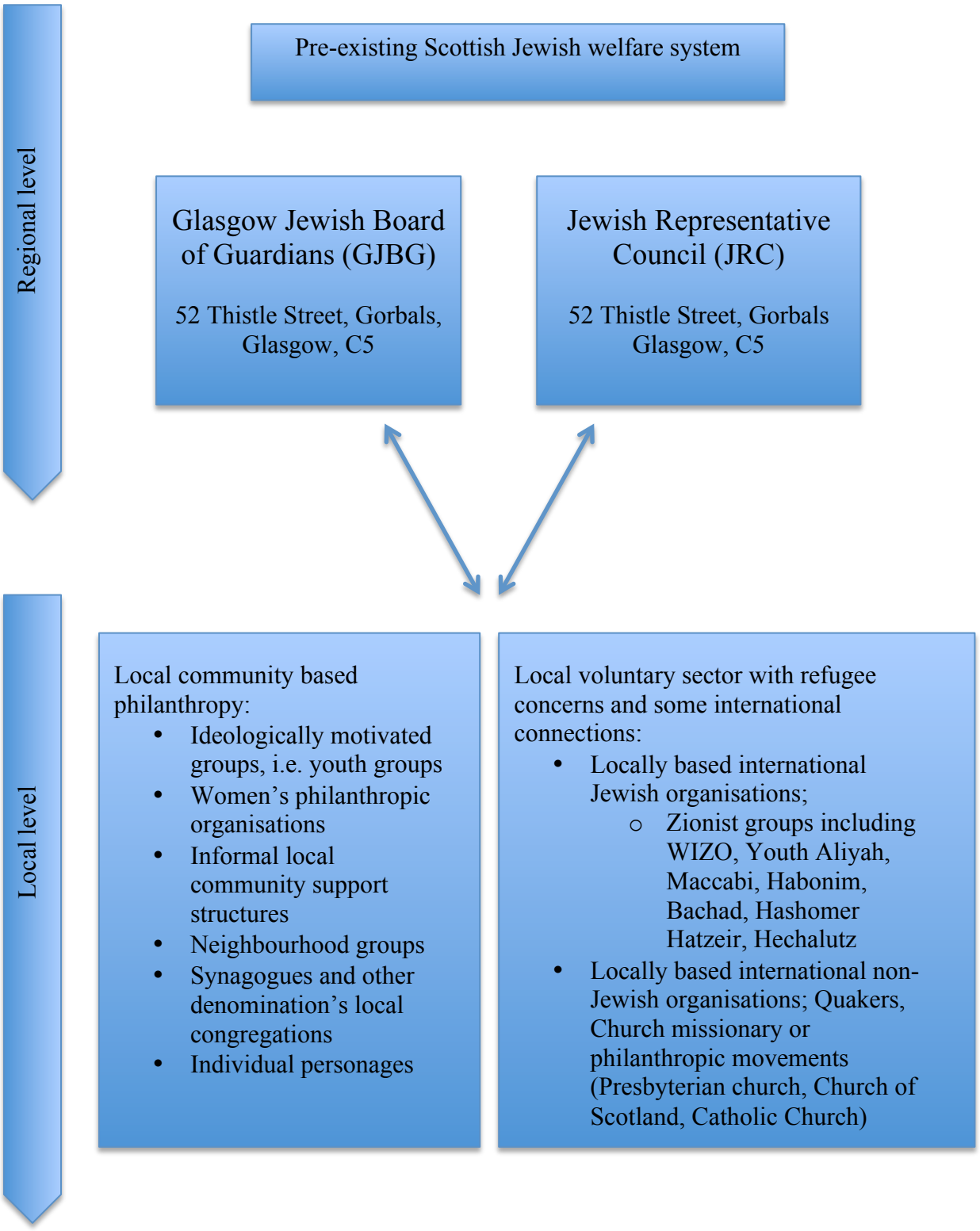
CL

Appendix 2: Kindertransport Associations' new database (KA:QU/SUP)

Ref	Day of birth	Month of birth	Year of birth	Town of origin	Country of origin	Original nationality	Gender
33	27	2	31	Frankfurt am Main	Germany	German	F
313	18	7	23	Hamburg	Germany	German	F
325	12	8	25	Vienna	Austria	Austrian	M
396	8	12	31	Kassel	Germany	German	F
412	5	12	25	Dusseldorf	Germany	German	F
438	3	3	34	Vienna	Austria	Austrian	M
2210	8	25	26	Berlin	Germany	German	F
19	31	8	25	Vienna	Austria	Austrian	F
223	29	5	30	Hannover	Germany	German	F
330	11	7	21	Berlin	Germany	German	F
443	23	2	24	Nuremberg	Germany	German	M
532	25	8	30	Ruhla	Germany	German	F
1074	25	2	34	Hronov	Czechoslovakia	Czech	M
1143	14	5	26	Koenigsberg	Germany	German	F
1145	19	8	24	Koenigsberg	Germany	German	F
1147	3	8	21	Koenigsberg	Germany	German	F
2085	31	8	33	Vienna	Austria	Austrian	M
2111	23	5	23	Vienna	Austria	Austrian	M
2112	28	7	25	Frankfurt am Main	Germany	German	F


National level
British Home Office
Aliens Department
10 Old Bailey, London, EC4
Ministry of Labour
Ministry of Agriculture
National Farmers Union
Central body responsible for the care and maintenance of Jewish refugees in Britain.
Central Council for Jewish Refugees (CC)
The Refugee Children's Movement (RCM)
Sub-division of the CC. Specifically responsible for the care and maintenance of Kindertransportees and other refugee minors in Britain.
Other organisations operating on a national level under the auspices of the CC:
• Central British Fund
• Inter-Aid Committee
• Children's Inter-Aid Committee (est. by Mrs Skelton and Mrs Bendit)
• Council for German Jewry Agricultural Committee
• Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and Central Europe
• Catholic Committee for Refugees from Germany
• Central Department for Interned Refugees
• Overseas Settlement Department
• Quaker's Jewish Refugee Committee, Germany Emergency Committee
Independent philanthropic individuals and organisations operating outside of the CC's auspices for refugees:
• The Chief Rabbis' Emergency Council
• Joint Emergency Committee for Jewish Religious Teaching
• Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations (Adath) (Led by Schonfeld)
• Federation of Women Zionists of GB and Ireland
• Women's International Zionist Organisations (WIZO)
• Youth Aliyah
• B'nai B'rit
• Zionist Youth Organisations, i.e. Bachad, Habonim.
• Individuals, i.e. Sir Nicholas Winton


CC's national philanthropic organisations
Provincial department
Decentralisation to provinces
Regional level
Edinburgh:
Scottish National Council for Refugees,
(Chairman: Henry Ellis Esq., Address: 56 Castle Street, Edinburgh 2.)
Scottish Regional Councils
Central regional organisations in Scotland. Responsible for overseeing the work of smaller local refugee committees within Scotland for the care and maintenance of Kindertransportees.
Glasgow:
Glasgow's Jewish Council for German Refugees,
(Address: 39 Queen Square, Glasgow S1)
Local level
• Jewish Refugee Aid Committee (Miss Kitty Osbourne, India Buildings, 2 Victoria Street, Edinburgh 1)
• Refugee Students' Aid Committee for Scotland (J.de.G. Gaudin Esq. MA, 3 West Castle Road, Edinburgh 10)
• Scottish Domestic Bureau for Refugees (Mrs Farrer, 28 Stafford Street, Edinburgh 3)
• Glasgow Jewish Refugee Committee (Miss Betty Myers, 39 Queen Square, Glasgow S1)
• Glasgow Children's Aid Committee (Miss Lili Lehmann, 39 Queen Square)
Regional refugee organisations based in English localities were also active in the care and maintenance of Kindertransportees in Scotland:
• Hammersmith and Ealing Women's Zionist Society
• Hampstead Garden Suburb Care Committee for Refugee Children
• Harrow and District Jewish Refugee Aid Fund
• League of Nations Union (Hurley Branch)
• North London's Women's Zionist Society
• Oxfordshire Children Refugee Training Movement
• South-East London Refugee Children's Fund
• South London Committee for Refugee Children
• Thames Valley and Richmond's Ladies' Zionist Society
• West London Women's Zionist Society


Regional level
Pre-existing Scottish Jewish welfare system
Glasgow Jewish Board of Guardians (GJBG)
52 Thistle Street, Gorbals, Glasgow, C5
Jewish Representative Council (JRC)
52 Thistle Street, Gorbals Glasgow, C5
Local level
Local community based philanthropy:
• Ideologically motivated groups, i.e. youth groups
• Women's philanthropic organisations
• Informal local community support structures
• Neighbourhood groups
• Synagogues and other denomination's local congregations
• Individual personages
Local voluntary sector with refugee concerns and some international connections:
• Locally based international Jewish organisations;
o Zionist groups including WIZO, Youth Aliyah, Maccabi, Habonim, Bachad, Hashomer Hatzeir, Hechalutz
• Locally based international non-Jewish organisations; Quakers, Church missionary or philanthropic movements (Presbyterian church, Church of Scotland, Catholic Church)

Appendix 6: A selection biographies from interviewees

Frances Williams' private collection:

1. Benson

Born in 1934 in a small town near Prague called Ranov, Czechoslovakia. His father managed a textile factory. His family was not religious, but totally secular and non-practising. Benson considers himself to be one of Nicholas Winton's saved 'children'. An elderly Jewish and Zionist lady in Glasgow fostered him for the duration of the war. He felt totally absorbed into the family. He spoke Yiddish to his foster family on arrival as a means to communicate. He did find himself in a more pious Jewish environment and he struggled to adapt to his new Orthodox Jewish upbringing and education in Glasgow. He joined Habonim and eventually went on *hachshara* training to Reading. He made *Aliyah* and became a founding member of *Kibbutz* Amiad. He tried to preserve Scottish traditions in later life. He currently lives in *Kibbutz* Amiad, Israel.

2. Ariel

Born in 1923, he lived in Vienna, Austria. His mother was a physician and his father a banker and lawyer. He came from an observant Jewish family, but with no Zionist connection. Ariel attended a Gymnasium and intended to go to university. His father was sent to Dachau before he was sent on the Kindertransport. In Edinburgh, a non-Jewish male Danish immigrant fostered him. His foster father purchased tickets for his parents to go to Shanghai, China. This secured the release of his father from Dachau. On route to Shanghai his parents arrived in Britain and gained asylum. His parents thereafter worked as domestics in England. He joined his parents in Birmingham in July 1939. He was later interned with his father. They were then separated and he was sent to York internment camp. In 1940 he migrated with his parents to the USA. He joined the army and this helped him gain a BA and MA. He focuses much of his narrative on pre-migration wider historical events and then his personal life after migrating to the USA. He currently lives in Maine, United States.

3. Isabel

Born in 1925 in Germany, she first lived in a small town called Korb and later moved to a small agricultural village. She came from a large, yet poor, Conservative Jewish family. Her father led a strictly patriarchal family unit and worked as a cattle dealer, whilst her mother was a housewife. After the Nazi party came to power the family moved to a big city and later sent the children to Aachen. In March 1939, She and her two sisters departed on the Kindertransport. She was separated from her siblings on arrival and sent to a number of different foster homes in England. She was later evacuated with one of her foster mothers to Kemnay, Scotland. They eventually returned to London. In 1947 she migrated with her siblings to the USA. Her parents did not survive and this prompted her to take on a maternal role with her younger sisters. She currently lives in Silver Spring, USA.

4. Jan

Lived with her Polish parents in Frankfurt, Germany. Her wealthy family ran a fabric and menswear business, and she was brought up by a maid. Her family was Orthodox Jewish. Her Father tried to organise for the whole family to migrate to Palestine. When this failed, he secured a foster family for her in Glasgow. She used the Kindertransport to reach this pre-arranged destination. A wealthy Orthodox family in Pollokshields, Glasgow, initially fostered her, before she was evacuated to the countryside with her school. Her guardian removed her from the school in order for her to provide domestic help at home and to work in his garment factory. She was later asked to leave by her guardian. She wanted to continue schooling. The Glasgow Jewish committee offered her accommodation in a hostel in Glasgow. She rejected this offer due to its poor living conditions. Instead, she moved to London and worked for the Agudas World Organisation to save money for her passage to USA. She later became a fashion buyer in New York. She was reunited with her parents in the USA, but struggled to readjust to life with them. She currently lives in New York, USA.

5. Marthe

Marthe grew up in Kassel, Germany. Her father worked for a Jewish social care organisation. She had a Jewish upbringing. Her father was arrested. Her parents escorted her to Hamburg, where she joined the Kindertransport, taking a boat to Britain. Her Christian foster family in Britain was pre-arranged. On departure she was about six years old. She lived in Edinburgh with her foster family before being evacuated with her school. She experienced xenophobia in Scotland. Her Aunt escaped to Britain and stayed with her foster family for six months before migrating to the USA. Her Christian foster parents later moved to the Pentland hills. She experienced a Christian social life in Scotland and feels she has forgotten everything about Judaism. She feels she has adopted Scotland as her homeland and currently lives in Ayreshire, Scotland.

6. Elsie

Born in Vienna in 1928, she grew up in a little village on the Czech border until 1938. She felt unaware of her Jewish ancestral links until she became socially ostracized. Her parents had converted to Catholicism and adhered to mainstream Christian rituals. She attended a Catholic convent school before migration. Her Father managed a sugar factory, while her Mother was a housewife. Her Catholic aunt arranged for her to be sent to a Catholic convent in Aberdeen, Scotland. She grew up in the convent for 16 years. She recalls the cloistered environment during term time. In the holidays she was sent to various care homes. She wanted to become a nun, but was advised by the nuns to explore life first. She received her affidavit ten years after applying and migrated to the USA. She feels that she has lived three separate lives. While she still feels bonded Catholicism and to Scotland, she married a Jewish man and now lives as a Jew and currently lives in the USA.

7. Rachel

Rachel lived in Berlin and came from a political and Orthodox Jewish family. After 1935, she was expelled from her school and sent to a Jewish school. Her Father was arrested and sentenced to hard labour. She recalls the impact of *Kristallnacht*. At the age of 13 she left on the Kindertransport. On arrival she was sent to Dovercourt

reception camp. She recalls the selection process being traumatic. She was eventually sent with 13 others to a boarding school in Edinburgh. She was then sent to a poor Jewish foster home before being transferred to a wealthier Jewish family where she worked as a maid. She felt animosity against her from *Ostjuden* Jews in Scotland. She later moved to Peebles to look after evacuated children and then to Glasgow where she lived at the Quaker's Renford Street hostel. She became involved in the Christian community and felt pressured to convert. She was helped to complete her education to the level of Highers. The hostel closed so she decided to train as a nurse. Whilst in Glasgow she was a member of the Sauchihall youth club. She was not a Zionist, but decided to migrate to Palestine to help Holocaust survivors after qualifying as a nurse. She later returned to Scotland, where she was reunited with her Mother. She currently lives in Glasgow, Scotland.

8. Debbie

Born in Frankfurt, she lived in Berlin and attended a Jewish School. She recalls no exposure to or experiences of anti-Semitism. Her parents were non-Orthodox Jews. She had a pre-arranged foster placement with an Ultra-Orthodox Jewish family in London. She was later evacuated with her school to Windsor until 1942. At age 14 she was sent to Polton House, Scotland. She does not feel she was ever exposed to Zionism at the *hachshara* centre. At Polton House, she was allowed to pursue secretarial training in Edinburgh rather than undertake agricultural training. She recalls the enjoyment and adventure of her time at Polton House. In later life she has suffered from depression and agoraphobia. She currently lives in London, England.

9. Jacob

Arrived from Herlingham (near Ulm), a small village in southern Germany. His parents were not religious, but he did attend a Jewish boarding school until *Kristallnacht*. In 1938 his brothers were sent to Palestine. His parents were divorced and he lived with his mother. In May 1939 he departed on a Kindertransport. He was sent to a number of Jewish hostels in England. One in Westgate, one in South Croydon, which was run along very Orthodox lines, and another in Eaton Avenue, London. Aged 12, he was evacuated and randomly selected for billeting to a foster

lady. He recalls feeling stigmatised because he was from a better social and economic background. He felt isolated from any Jewish community and pressured to anglicise and adopt a British accent. His father escaped to Britain, but was interned. Jacob requested to be transferred to a Jewish and Zionist environment. He was sent to Polton House, Scotland. After Polton House he joined an adult *hachsharot* in England. He missed out on a Youth Aliyah permit because of inadequate information and communication. In 1947 he rejected the opportunity to become a British national and, after working with Holocaust survivors in Europe's DP camps, he made *Aliyah bet* (illegal emigration) to Palestine. He currently lives in *Kfar* Hanassi, Israel.

10. Abaigael

Born in 1925 in Vienna, Austria, she had a Traditional Jewish upbringing. Her parents ran a perfumery and she attended the local Gymnasium. She feels she was protected from anti-Semitism, but recalls seeing Hitler during a procession in Vienna. Her Father was arrested and sent to Dachau. She left school to help her mother in the perfumery. She was later sent to a Jewish school. The perfumery was ransacked on *Kristallnacht.* She departed on the Kindertransport to Harwich and was taken to a reception camp. Along with her friend from Austria, she was chosen to live with a poor non-Jewish foster family from Lincoln. The family could not afford to keep them, so they were sent to Dovercourt reception camp. She was then separated from her friend and sent to Whittingehame Farm School, Scotland. She was not involved in the Zionist groups, but instead joined the Scouts. In 1941, she was sent to an adult *hachsharot* in Devon, at which point she decided she did not want to live a pioneer's lifestyle. She moved to London and worked as a dressmaker. She was reunited with her father in Vienna in 1947. She currently lives in Middlesex, England.

11. Dena

She was born in 1924 in Poland, but lived in Vienna, Austria. Her parents were Orthodox Jews. She attended the local Gymnasium until the Anschluss, when she moved to a Jewish Zionist school. Her siblings had migrated to Britain, where they

worked as agricultural labourers. Her Father was taken to Dachau and died in 1938. She departed on the Kindertransport in 1938. On arrival she was sent to Lowestoft, before being taken to Whittingehame Farm School. She was among the first residents to arrive at Whittingehame and worked to clean and prepare the facility for its opening. She became a member of the Habonim Zionist youth group. She went on to join two adult *hachsharot* in England. She currently lives in *Kfar* Hanassi, Israel.

12. Josephine

Josephine came from Berlin, Germany. Her parents were non-observant Orthodox Jews. She attended a religious Jewish school. She departed on the Kindertransport age 16. Her care at Whittingehame Farm School was arranged before her migration to Britain on the Kindertransport. After Whittingehame, she went on to join the David Eder farm, an adult *hachsharot* in England. She migrated to Palestine with Youth Aliyah, where she later joined the British Army. She returned to England, but found it difficult to integrate into British Jewish communities. She currently lives in London, England.

13. Levi

Born in Berlin, Germany, to Polish parents, he had an Orthodox Jewish upbringing. He attended religious Jewish school and was fluent in Yiddish and Hebrew. In October 1938, his Father was expelled as a Polish Jew. He recalls the impact of anti-Semitism on his family, friends and the Jewish community. He was a member of a Bachad Zionist youth group. Under the auspices of Youth Aliyah and B'nai B'rith he departed on the Kindertransport. On arrival he was sent to Whittingehame Farm School. He was expelled after campaigning against the absence of Madrichem, but was swiftly allowed to return. He left in 1941 and went to an adult *hachsharot* in Buckingham, England. He later became a staff member of Polton House, Scotland. He then joined the army and later established a Kosher butchers in Luton, England. He made *Aliyah* in 1972 and now lives between Jerusalem, Israel and Golders Green, London, England.

14. Elijah

Born in 1924 in Warsaw, Poland, he had a non-Orthodox Jewish upbringing. Aged five, his parents moved the family to Danzig, Germany. He attended a Polish school, before being expelled in 1937 for being Jewish. Because no Jewish school existed, his education ended. His family was very poor, so his Father stayed in Poland to work in order to earn money. He was a member of a Zionist youth group in Danzig. He departed on the Kindertransport with one of his sisters. He was fostered by a very Orthodox Jewish family, but struggled to integrate into the strict Orthodoxy of Anglo-Jewry. As a result, he ran away from this foster home and was sent to Whittingehame Farm School. He became a member of the Habonim Zionist youth group. He felt stigmatised by other Kindertransportees because of his Polish heritage. He later joined two adult *hachshara* in England. He made *Aliyah Bet* to Palestine and became a founding member of *Kfar* Hanassi. He currently lives in *Kfar* Hanassi, Israel.

15. Nathan

Born in 1924 in Vienna, Austria, Nathan came from an observant Orthodox Jewish family. He attended a non-denominational school before being forced to leave because he was Jewish. He departed on the Kindertransport and was sent to the Dovercourt reception camp. He was then sent to Whittingehame Farm School. He was later interned for four months before returning to Whittingehame Farm School. He became a member of the Bachad Zionist youth group. After Whittingehame, he went with his Bachad youth group to an adult *hachshara* in Wales. They made *Aliyah* together and he helped to found Kibbutz Lavi, Israel. He currently lives in Kibbutz Lavi, Israel.

16. Ranita

Born in Berlin, Germany, she came from a very religious Russian Jewish family. She departed on the Kindertransport and was sent directly to Whittingehame Farm School. She became a member of the Bachad Zionist youth group. After Whittingehame, she decided to go to London to join her two sisters. She worked in Welling Garden city. She currently lives in *Kibbutz* Lavi, Israel.

17. Edna

Edna came from an Orthodox German Jewish family. She places great emphasis within her narrative upon the friendship that existed between her mother and Recha Freier of Youth Aliyah. She departed on the Kindertransport to Whittingehame Farm School. She became a member of the Bachad Zionist youth group. After Whittingehame, she was sent to a domestic work placement in rural Scotland, where she felt very isolated. She made *Aliyah* and lived on a *kibbutz* with her husband. However, she decided she did not want to live on a *kibbutz* and currently lives in Jerusalem, Israel.

18. Johan

He was born in 1924 in Nuremburg, Germany. His Father was non-Jewish. He attended the Realschule Furth. In May 1939 he departed on the Kindertransport and was fostered by a Jewish lady in Glasgow. He was later evacuated to a farm in Perth, Scotland. He returned to Glasgow after Perth became a protected area. After failing to register as an alien at the age of 16, he was interned on the Isle of Man. He worked as a cook in the camp, before being released and sent back to Glasgow. In Glasgow, he continued to work as a chef and later became a Jewish caterer. He was a member of the Sauchihall Street youth club in Glasgow. He currently lives in Glasgow, Scotland.

19. Barth

Born in Prague, Barth's Jewish family originated in Poland and was Ultra-Orthodox. In 1934, his Grandmother sent him to Vienna to live with his uncle and aunt. In May 1939, he departed on the Kindertransport and was sent to the Jewish Gertrude Jacobson Orphanage, Glasgow. He was later evacuated to the Birkenward hostel in Skelmorlie, Scotland. He eventually migrated to the USA to join his family. He joined the US Army and later went to an American University in Mexico City. Due to work opportunities, he moved to Peru and became the manager of Johnson and Johnson. He currently lives in Venezuela.

Washington DC's Holocaust Memorial Museum's archive:

20. Lola L. Sprinzeles (nee Schneider)

Born in 1929 in Vienna, Austria, her family were observant Conservative Jews from Austria-Hungary, an area that later became part of Poland. She experienced a very patriarchal upbringing. Her father was a teacher and ordained Rabbis. She went to a fee paying Jewish high school. She recalls the impact of anti-Semitism upon her friends and family. In 1938, her brother made *Aliyah Bet* to Palestine. On *Kristallnacht* her father was arrested and taken for forced labour, while the family home was confiscated. She was sent on the Kindertransport, but remained adamant that she did not want to be fostered. She believes she chose to go to Whittingehame Farm School. She was then sent to an adult *hachshara*, but chose to attend high school independently in Manchester. She later volunteered as a nurse for the Jewish army in Israel. In 1948 she became a British citizen. She was reunited with her parents in Israel. She returned to England, but later migrated to the USA to pursue an academic education. She currently lives in New York, USA.

21. Sidney Bratt

Born in 1928 in Guttstadt, a small farming town in Germany, his parents originated in Poland. He came from an observant Traditional Jewish family and attended Hebrew school and the synagogue. His family was poor and uneducated. His father was a trader. His father was arrested on *Kristallnacht* and he did not see him again for three years. Bratt recalls anti-Semitism in Germany and the pre-occupation of the Jewish community to emigrate. He moved to a Jewish school and then later went from Berlin on the Kindertransport. He was the only sibling in his family to leave. Until May 1940, he was sent to a reception camp in Clayton, Suffolk. In August 1939, his father migrated to England, but was sent to an internment camp. Bratt was eventually sent to very Orthodox hostel in High Wycombe. He felt that it was too religious. He had been nurtured with aspirations for emigration to Palestine so he requested to go to a pre-*hachsharot*. He was sent to Polton House. After the war he moved to London to join his father. He trained as a mechanic and migrated to USA in 1948. He currently lives in Reading, USA.

22. Hano Fry

Born 1924 in Hamburg, Germany, his parents were non-practicing and not affiliated to any religion. His parents divorced when he was young, after which his mother and stepfather raised him. His stepfather was an Orthodox Jew, but non-observant. They moved to a large apartment in Berlin and he attended the Gymnasium. He was a member of Jewish youth clubs. He had a pre-arranged foster placement with a parson of the Church of Scotland in Scotland, while his brother was sent to members of the Plymouth Brethren sect, near Clydebank. He believes his brother became very isolated and cloistered living within the Plymouth Brethren sect. Fry was thrown out of his foster home because he would not work or convert. He was sent to Garnethill hostel, Glasgow, and attended the Paisley Technical College to complete his matriculation. Fry currently lives in England.

23. Michael Warton

Warton was born in 1925 in Könnigsberg, East Prussia (later becoming part of Germany and now a part of Russia). His father was a successful horse merchant. His parents were Orthodox Jews and he received an observant Jewish upbringing. He was enrolled in the local Gymnasium until he was forced to leave because of anti-Semitism, after which he moved to a Jewish school. He attended Hebrew school three times a week, along with the local Temple twice a week. Warton experienced bullying and anti-Semitism before his departure. His Zionist mother had always sought to focus the family towards migration to Palestine. Nevertheless, through connections with one of their synagogue's cantors, who had already emigrated, his father was able to arrange a foster care placement for him in Scotland. His father was arrested on Kristallnacht, but returned the following morning. In February 1939, Warton left on the Kindertransport from Berlin with his sister and two cousins. They were all sent to a reception camp for two days before their sponsors from Glasgow came to collect them. Once in Glasgow they were separated. Warton was sent to live with a wealthy Jewish man. His sister lived with the cantor, while his cousins were placed with the cantor's relatives. He attended the local grammar school. In Glasgow he felt stigmatised as a refugee. He was evacuated to Ayr. Aged 15, he took an apprenticeship in a furniture factory in Glasgow. During his apprenticeship

he lived in a hostel and attended night school. From 1945 he worked in London. In 1947 he migrated to Chicago, USA. Today he is an Athiest Jew and currently lives in Highland Park, Illinois, USA.

24. Walter Nachtigall

Born in Vienna, Austria, he came from an observant Jewish family. The Nazis ransacked his family home and sent his father to Dachau. Aged eight, he left Austria with his sister on the Kindertransport. In Edinburgh, they were both fostered; Nachtigall by a Jewish physician, while his sister was fostered separately by another Jewish family. In his foster home, he experienced very poor conditions and slept in a storage room with minimal creature comforts. When the physician went on holiday he was sent by the Fresh Air fund to a Christian family in Disert, Scotland. The new family was poor, but provided a loving home. Due to the subsequent evacuation of Edinburgh he remained with the family for the duration of the war. He felt isolated from other Jews in Disert, but believes he was given support to maintain his knowledge of his Jewish heritage. His parents escaped and rejoined them in Glasgow, Scotland. They migrated to USA.

Appendix 7: Article

Frances Williams, 'Migration after the Kindertransport: The Scottish legacy?', ***Kindertransport Volume; Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies,*** **vol.13 (due to be published by 2012).**

Synopsis of article (100 words)

The Kindertransport was not only a pre-1945 migration story, but was also shaped by the trans-migrant status of the minors. This meant that further migration featured highly in the Kindertransportees' broader life stories. This article explores the post-1945 migration trends of Kindertransportees placed in Scotland during the war years. In doing so, it asks why certain patterns have emerged, most notably the apparent mass exodus of Scotland's Kindertransportees from Scotland. This exploration considers not only the role of Scotland in these choices, but also their trans-migrant status, their connection to a wider movement of displaced refugees and the influence of post-war demographic shifts in Britain.

Figure 1. Kindertransportees at Whittingehame Farm School dress up in kilts.

Source: Mike Challis' private collection of photographs and letters (MCPC)

> I always say I am a product of three peoples, or ethnicities, or nations that have been screwed throughout history, the Scots, the Czech and the Jews.[1]

An estimated 800 children were sent to Scotland via the Kindertransport.[2] Of those surveyed, by 1950 few remained within the Scottish borders. Only 13% of these Kindertransportees surveyed remain in Scotland today.[3] 82% are living in Israel, the United States of America (USA) or England.[4] Why did they all leave? This article is considering the legacy of Scotland upon its resident wartime Kindertransportees and the role this may have played in their migration and resettlement choices after 1945. This will challenge monolithic interpretations of Kindertransportees' post-war migrations and the influencing variables that lay behind these choices.

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[1] Frances Williams' private collection of oral testimonies (FWPC); Benson. 30 interviews have been made with surviving Kindertransportees of Scotland who now live in Israel, Britain and the United States. Interviewees have been given pseudonym.

[2] Kindertransport Association's Worldwide Questionnaire database (KA:QU/SUP). 1320 completed questionnaires from surviving Kindertransportees were collected in 2007. I imputed the data from these questionnaires into a new database. This has enabled me to gain new statistical information about the Kindertransport episode. Specific statistics related to Scotland are based on 87 respondents within this database.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

The Kindertransportees' migration story has frequently been grouped together with 'typical' Jewish migration narratives or post-war continental refugee resettlement patterns.[5] These ideas have placed emphasis on the role of Jewish genealogy, the Zionist movement for Jews living outside of Palestine and the implications of the Holocaust for demographic shifts in Europe. In this article, it will be argued that in fact the Kindertransportees' migration choices reflect a very unique pattern unto themselves. These also differed depending on where they had been placed during the war years. For Kindertransportees in Scotland, a particular story of migration emerges.

The Kindertransportees' mass exodus is not only revealing of the push factors that afflict Scotland. It is also suggestive of other important influences on the Kindertransportees' lives that determined particular lifestyle choices. These do not necessarily place Scotland in centre stage and it becomes clear that for some Kindertransportees their Scottish placement was of minimal relevance in these decisions. While economic opportunities in new countries led a large number of youth abroad, family reunions could take precedence in resettlement plans. Draws of familiar cultural centres and post-war ideological aspirations also took Kindertransportees from Scotland. The decision to migrate to Israel was not always based on a decision to make *Aliyah* and return to Zion. Many alternative reasons to Zionism emerge for the migration to Israel: financial assistance, friendships, kinship, insecurity and the desire to belong. It will also be shown that migration to locations further away from Scotland did not equal a greater disconnection from Scotland. Scotland's Kindertransportees have often become part of the Scottish diaspora experience. The Kindertransportees' migration story was also very much tailored to their unique position in Britain as unaccompanied trans-migrants minors. These features added certain characteristics to their resettlement choices.

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[5] Marion Berghahn, 'German Jews in England; Aspects of the Assimilation and Integration process', in *Exile in Great Britain; Refugees from Hitler's Germany* (ed.) Gerhard Hirschfield (London, 1984); Ruth Zariz, *Escape before the Holocaust, Migration of German Jews 1938-1941* (Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1990); Daniel Boyarin, 'Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity', *Critical Inquiry*, vol.19, 4 (Summer, 1993).

Kindertransportees who had originally been placed in Scotland can now be found across the world, as far from Britain as Canada, Nepal and New Zealand.[6] The majority did, however, adhere to three preferred destinations: 34% migrated south to England, 23% went to the USA and 25% to Israel. These migration patterns will be shown to reflect a combination of trends associated with being trans-migrant minors, part of the Scottish diaspora, amongst a wave of displaced refugees from Europe and members of a British post-war population.

Trans-migrant minors

The status of the Kindertransportees in Britain - unaccompanied trans-migrant youth or children – and the circumstance this afforded them in Scotland, determined important characteristics to their post-war settlement choices. The terms and conditions of the Kindertransportees' entry to Britain had always been that they were migrants in transit. Claudio Curio has shown the bureaucratic backdrop and strict trans-migrant guidelines that shaped the allocation criteria for entry to Britain via the Kindertransport.[7] Between 1938 and 1945, neither the Central Council for German Jewry nor the general public ever discarded these terms or the notion of this trans-migration eventuality. In February 1939, *The Times* assured its readers of the new arrivals 'ultimate emigration elsewhere'.[8] In 1944, with the close of war in sight, attention returned to the migratory choices of the trans-migrants. In March 1944, an article in the *Scotsman* placed emphasis on the imminent return of refugees to their homelands.[9]

The Kindertransportees were also aware of this expectation for their departure from Britain. One of the former members of the Kindertransport, Elsie remembers in an interview that she felt she was 'luggage in advance', never collected for her onward journey.[10] Another interviewee, Dena, states that her time in

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[6] KA:QU/SUP.
[7] Claudio Curio, '"Invisible" children; The selection and integration strategies of relief organisations', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23 (Fall, 2004) 41-56.
[8] *The Times*, 9 February 1939.
[9] *Scotsman*, 21 March 1944.
[10] FWPC/Elsie.

Scotland was always based on the need to gain certificates to get to Palestine, where she had 'always wanted to go'.[11] Repatriation to Germany or Austria was not a popular migration option. Instead, their intended migratory route was predominantly focused on new destinations, rather than returning to their homelands. Interviewees explain that by 1945 they had become dislocated from their homelands and did not wish to return. Elsie no longer felt 'at home there anymore'.[12] Ariel, like many other Kindertransportees, left Vienna at a very young age before he felt he had formed any attachment to the city.[13] Kindertransportees had also often lost their mother tongue and felt unable to return to a linguistically foreign community. Isabel lost her ability to speak German and struggled to engage with German people in later life.[14] Elsie recalls: 'I had lost my German totally, completely, I couldn't, read it, I couldn't understand it, I couldn't speak it, so I couldn't even read my parents letters'.[15] Fear and loathing is another given reason for their desire not to return to their original homelands. When Isabel did make a return trip she was preoccupied with evaluating people and their likely roles during the Holocaust.[16] As a result, few Kindertransportees took the opportunity to return to their countries of origin and instead waited for alternative migration opportunities.

The long process of waiting for visas meant that Kindertransportees often grasped the first opportunity for further migration. The attainment of the necessary visa or immigration certificate enabled Kindertransportees to fulfil pre-arranged plans of parents to meet in America or make *Aliyah* to Palestine or later Israel. 6% of Kindertransportees who went to the USA did so purely because they received their visa.[17] Many of the Kindertransportees had been registered for a USA visa before they came to Britain on the Kindertransport. Their time in Scotland has sometimes been recalled as a form of purgatory, awaiting a judgement to enable them to move on to their next life in a new country. Elsie's parents had placed her on a visa

[11] FWPC/Dena.
[12] FWPC/Elsie.
[13] FWPC/Ariel.
[14] FWPC/Isabel.
[15] FWPC/Elsie.
[16] FWPC/Isabel.
[17] KA:QU/SUP.

waiting list for the USA, which took ten years to arrive.[18] Elsie recalls at 'times I felt a little edgy when I realised this (waiting) could go on forever'.[19] The inability to acquire the necessary documentation meant that the Kindertransportees' migration occurred over a long timescale. Levi remembers that quite a few Kindertransportees received their affidavit for the USA or Palestine and left between May and June 1941.[20] Others, such as Elsie, were not able to leave until the late 1940s.

The trans-migrant basis of the Kindertransportees' status in Britain developed a tripartite pattern to their migration story. Kindertransportees often reflect on their three lives: before, during and after the Kindertransport. They began their migration earlier than most Holocaust survivors and most Kindertransportees stayed in Britain for many years before onward migration. This meant that the British part of their passage remained an important element of their story. The opening quotation to this chapter, which is taken from an interview, explains the importance of the tripartite migration experience. Benson, who migrated to Israel, believes he is not only a Czech, but also a Scot and a Jew or Israeli.[21] Another Kindertransportee narrates her life story in three neat packages:

> I have my Austrian life, my Scottish life and my American life … My first ten years in Austria were one life, then in Scotland I had another life completely, you just got picked up out of one life and dumped into another, and then coming to America that was my third life which seemed to have very little to do with either life one or two.[22]

This tripartite structure has meant that the latter stage of the Kindertransportees' trans-migration journey is not usually presented by Kindertransportees as their big migration experience. Instead, it is portrayed as the conclusion to a broader story of migration beginning before the war with the Kindertransport. As such, after 1945, the initial migration was the last major relocation of 93% of Kindertransportees as they chose to remain permanently rooted

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[18] FWPC/Elsie.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] FWPC/Levi.
[21] FWPC/Benson.
[22] FWPC/Elsie.

to that first resettlement nation.[23] This pattern may be linked to the trauma of their initial migratory experience via the Kindertransport. Martha explains that she simply could not bring herself to be uprooted again.[24]

Nevertheless, a lesser number of Kindertransportees broke this tripartite structure and made multiple migrations after 1945. The Kindertransportees were unaccompanied minors and expressed their sense of freedom and adventure during this period. In 1945, most Kindertransportees were still living independently with few commitments or geographic ties. There is an essence of 'why not' and experimentation with migration choices. Alice Hubbers recalls her decision to go on *hachshara*:

> I was in a couple of camps and a couple of families. In the second camp I went to, a lady came round and asked if there was anyone who was interested in going to Israel … I thought yes this was a good idea I will go on *hachshara* and from there I could go to Israel.[25]

Subsequently, 7% of Scotland's Kindertransportees made multiple migrations, while others relocated within their chosen country.[26] Multiple migrations even included trans-Atlantic moves. This tended to be between the USA and Israel.

The presence of multiple migrations may be attributed to a lack of supervision or guidance felt by many Kindertransportees as unaccompanied minors. The migration pattern suggests a degree of confusion about where to go and a lack of clear guidance concerning how to get there. 83% of the former members of the Kindertransport, who made multiple migrations, migrated first to Israel before deciding to go to the USA.[27] Disillusionment with the reality of the Kibbutzim lifestyle was a contributing factor for some Kindertransportees' decision to leave Israel.[28] Following independence, Israel was often seen by Kindertransportees as a

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[23] KA:QU/SUP.
[24]Washington DC's Holocaust Memorial Museum's archive, Slate collection (WHMA/SC):1349-36.
[25] WHMA/Shoah Foundation's collection of oral testimonies (USC):43138.
[26] KA:QU/SUP.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] FWPC/Rachel, Edna.

tough place to live with limited opportunities outside of manual labouring.[29] The USA offered greater educational or career opportunities. One interviewee mentions how he went to the USA to study at university after becoming disillusioned with manual or labouring lifestyles in Israel.[30]

It is also apparent that many more Kindertransportees would have made multiple migrations had they been able to do so. Elsie went to the USA and immediately wished to return to Scotland or migrate elsewhere. However, she had to find employment, because she lacked the money needed for her return passage.[31] Elsie then decided to stay in the US by the time she had managed to raise enough money.

The limited level of support and financial assistance for the Kindertransportees not only kept Kindertransportees abroad, such as those who may have wished to return or re-migrate, but also prevented some from leaving Scotland. By 1945, 54% of all Kindertransportees were orphans and the majority remained dependent on welfare.[32] This meant that many found they lacked a support network during the resettlement process.[33] One Kindertransportee who still lives in Scotland explains her reluctance to move due to fear and financial uncertainty.[34]

This lack of support meant that migratory eventualities were often due to chance and luck. Jacob was extremely keen to gain a certificate for Palestine and make *Aliyah* during the war years.[35] However, due to miscommunication and a lack of information he missed his opportunity. Jacob recalls *Youth Aliyah* explaining that they had been searching for him for many years when his name came up as a candidate for *Aliyah*. Unfortunately, contact with him was only made ten days after he passed the maximum age restriction for the certificate. As a result, Jacob remained in Britain on a *hachshara* before he was able to join a group making illegal

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[29] FWPC/Rachel, Edna and Abaigael.
[30] FWPC/Benson.
[31] FWPC/Elsie.
[32] KA:QU/SUP.
[33] For further details about Scotland's limited welfare facilities see Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Lynn Abrams, *The Orphan Country; Children of Scotland's broken homes from 1845 to the present day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998).
[34] FWPC/Marthe.
[35] FWPC/Jacob.

Aliyah in 1947. This took him via Europe, where he worked in Displaced Persons camps.

Individual preferences about where to go or not were also relevant for the Kindertransportees' migration patterns. The ability to pursue these goals was limited by a lack of resources, yet Kindertransportees still played a determining role in their resettlement plans. This point has frequently been overlooked in favour of misconceptions that the Kindertransportees were minors led by older Jewish refugee migrants or channelled into particular migration choices to fulfil quotas. This was the case for some Kindertransportees, yet a significant number were able to direct their own migration paths. This was often by-way of refusing resettlement or travel plans. In 1947, Jacob rejected an offer to become naturalised in Britain, stating 'it wasn't my ambition'.[36] Jacob's decision at age 19 went against his fathers' wishes. Kindertransportees who attended Scotland's pre-*hachsharot* maintained a certainty that they would not migrate to Israel and they never did. Debbie states that 'never, never, ever in a lifetime would I move to Israel. When I went to Polton House I had never heard of Zionism … It had no pull for me'.[37] On the other hand, Kindertransportees astutely sought out *hachsharot* training programmes as a means for migration. Sidney Bratt recalls that 'it was always my dream to go to Israel, to train for that and by expressing that I was transferred to a *hachshara* or training establishment for Israel'.[38]

The Kindertransportees also often chose to follow friends in migration. Due to the terms and conditions of their entry to Britain - requiring them to enter unaccompanied - and the inability of most of their parents to exit Greater Germany thereafter, the vast majority of Kindertransportees felt a parental void for the duration of the war years.[39] This made peer-group ties extremely important to Kindertransportees, who felt they lacked maternal or paternal support.[40] These ties played a central role in influencing the minors' settlement choices. Elijah explains

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[36] *Ibid.*
[37] FWPC/Debbie.
[38] WHMA/USC:36790.
[39] WHMA/USC:43932; FWPC/Elijah, Edna.
[40] FWPC/Edna, Elijah.

that he did not question his decision to follow his friends abroad.[41] This was particularly true in migration to Israel, where *Garinim* made *Aliyah* together. The *Garinim* were 'family groups', which had developed from friendship ties in *hachsharot* and would eventually provide the foundations for a new kibbutz. Friendship groups that were formed at Whittingehame Farm School, Scotland's pre-*hachsharot,* today remain together in two main settlements in Israel: Kfar Hanassi and Kibbutz Lavi. [42]

In 1945, the majority of Kindertransportees remained unaccompanied or were now orphaned. Ute Benz has pointed to the traumatic implications for Kindertransportees of their separation and loss of family or home life during the war.[43] For some, the end to the war enabled family reunions and this became a dominant feature in migration plans. M. Boyd has shown how 'family and personal networks' emerged as important variables for international migration choices.[44] Elsie's parents were both killed in the Holocaust, yet she felt desperate to acquire her affidavit for the USA in order to 'come to my family, the only family I had'.[45] Elsie eventually joined her 'American family' and lived with her aunt in the USA. Jacob wanted to migrate to Israel in order 'to join my brothers and my mother'.[46] Sidney Bratt recalls the negotiations that took place with his father, which brought them to the USA in 1948.[47] These decisions prioritised the need to keep the family together:

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[41] FWPC/Elijah.

[42] Pre-*hachsharot* centres were established across Britain to provide agricultural training facilities for Jewish youth aged between 14 and 16 years of age. At this age they were below the minimum age for adult *hachsharot* training. *Pre-hachsharot* provided a two-year course, enabling them to qualify for *a Youth Aliyah* certificate for entry to Palestine. For more information see Brian David Amkraut, 'Zionist Attitudes towards YA from Germany, 1932 – 1939', *The Journal of Israeli History,* vol.20, no.2 (Spring, 2001); H, Edelston, "Uprooting and Resettlement, A Survey of the "YA" Program in Israel", *The Journal of Educational Sociology* (April, 1959)*; 25 Years of YA,* (1959).

[43] Ute Benz, (translated by Toby Axelrod), 'Traumatization through Separation: Loss of Family and Home as Childhood Catastrophes', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23 (2004) 85-99.

[44] M. Boyd, 'Family and personal networks in international migration: recent developments and new agendas', *International Migration Review,* vol.*23* (1989) 638-70.

[45] FWPC/Elsie.

[46] FWPC/Jacob.

[47] WHM/USC:36790.

> They both approached me and said listen we don't want to stay in United Kingdom, we have relatives and you have to be with family together and we want to go to the United States, we would appreciate it if you would come with us.

The new Kindertransport database has shown that family reunions were the second largest given cause for further migration (11%).[48] 44% of Kindertransportees who migrated to the USA did so in order to be reunited with family members. 46% of Kindertransportees were reunited with at least one parent. 64% of these were reunited with both parents and the place of reunion was highly influential in resettlement decisions. 49% were reunited in Britain, 29% in Israel and 22% in the USA. These figures closely mirror the current national locations of Kindertransportees: 47% in Britain, 25% in Israel and 23% in the USA, respectively. Of those who were reunited in the USA, they tended to resettle in close proximity to where the reunion with their parents occurred, for example 63% were reunited in New York and 25% reunited in California. Today 42% of former members of the Kindertransport live in New York and 21% live in California, the two largest concentrations of Kindertransportee settlement in the USA. However, reunions did not always prescribe long-term settlement. 41% of Scotland's Kindertransportees who were reunited in Britain were reunited in Scotland, yet far fewer (13%) Kindertransportees remained in Scotland.

The Kindertransportees' loss of a family was also influential in migration plans. Migration decisions were often influenced by memories and nostalgic beliefs in parents' dreams and wishes for their children. This belief was particularly used in relation to migrations to the USA or Israel. Interviewees explain that their destination had always been their parents' goal. Ariel states that he went to the USA because 'that was the plan' of his parents.[49] Isabel explains that 'I always knew I was coming to America … my parents had planned to come to this country and I felt that it was my duty to come to this country'.[50] In the absence of a father, Jacob's brother had influenced his migration decision:

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[48] KA:QU/SUP.
[49] FWPC/Ariel.
[50] FWPC/Isabel.

> My eldest brother … growing up without my father, he was my role model and that was where I was going. He was killed two and a half months after arrived in this country. But this role model took me and kept me in the kibbutz for a long time.[51]

Migrating as displaced refugees

The Kindertransportees' migration story also reflects a connection to the wider movements in population demographics, especially those movements of displaced refugees following the Holocaust.[52] Their experience often prioritised choices that would provide a sense of belonging, security and enable a degree of permanency. For some this was symbolised in the creation of a family. As previously mentioned, by 1945 an estimated 54% of all Kindertransportees were orphans.[53] Establishing roots, by way of a new family unit or place of belonging, dominated many of the Kindertransportees' activities. Marriage constituted 5% of given reasons for migration.[54] This particularly affected girls and women. 11% of Kindertransportees who migrated to the USA did so because of marriage.[55] Marriage tended to occur at a young age and a lot of the Kindertransportees have tended to have large families. By having children soon after marriage, most now have large numbers of grandchildren and great-grandchildren. One Kindertransportee interviewed had six children and now enjoys twenty-eight grandchildren and over thirty great-grandchildren.[56] This trend does correlate with the wider post-war baby boom in Britain, whereby young couples were getting married earlier and have families sooner. Nevertheless, in comparison, the average British women born in the mid-1930s to early 1940s would have 2.4 children.[57]

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[51] FWPC/Jacob.
[52] See Mark Wyman, *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945-1951* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1998); Arieh Kochavi, *Post-Holocaust Politics: Britain, the United States, & Jewish Refugees, 1945–1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
[53] KA:QU/SUP.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] Ibid.
[57] www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-11960183; see also www.Statistics.gov.uk/statbase/Product.asp?vlnk=14408 (both viewed 23.05.2011).

As displaced refugees, the Kindertransportees also sought to relocate to areas with more cultural and social familiarity to them. Rainer Kolmel has shown that cultural differences did play a role in creating problems for continental migrants settling in Scotland.[58] Some interviewees also expressed never feeling totally at home in Scotland or familiar with Scottish culture.[59] This led to them relocating to areas popular with other refugees from Central Europe, who shared similar cultural and social backgrounds. Most Kindertransportees who remained in Scotland gravitated towards Glasgow, the hub of Jewish immigrant life in Scotland. Those who migrated to England tended to opt for London. 62% of Kindertransportees in Britain settled in Greater London.[60] 67% of these Kindertransportees moved to North London, predominantly Middlesex and areas surrounding Hampstead and Golders Green. This mirrored the wider Jewish refugee communities' preferences for the affordable suburbs of North London. Marion Berghahn's research has shown how hubs of continental enclaves emerged in these areas.[61] The former Kindertransportees' affinity to other Jewish refugees is also underlined by their preference for marriage partners: 30% married a Holocaust survivor and 40% of these are stated to be fellow Kindertransportees.[62]

Members of a Scottish diaspora

Despite some Kindertransportees feeling alienated or ambivalent towards Scotland, many did feel a bond to the country. Most of these Kindertransportees had spent much of their formative years in Scotland and express their sense of attachment and loyalty to Scotland. Kindertransportees often acquired Scottish cultural habits and social norms. Jan recalls that by 1945 she had acquired a 'broad Scots accent'.[63] Jan, like many others, preferred to emphasise her Scottish origin rather than her German

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[58] Rainer Kölmel, 'Problems of Settlement; German-Jewish Refugees in Scotland', in *Exile in Great Britain,* (ed.) Hirschfield, 251.
[59] FWPC/Marthe, Rachel, Gabby, Johan.
[60] KA:QU/SUP.
[61] See Marion Berghahn, *Continental Britons; German-Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany* (London: Macmillan, 1984).
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] FWPC/Jan.

one. Martha, who has remained in Ayrshire, states that 'och yeah, I do feel Scottish … all my children live in Scotland'.[64]

Kindertransportees who could not or did not wish to remain in Scotland frequently followed uniquely Scottish migration routes and settlement areas. Areas with a large Scottish contingency in Israel were particularly popular with Kindertransportees who had undertaken pre-*hachsharot* training in Scotland. Among the founders of Kfar Hanassi and Kibbutz Amiad were a significant number of Glaswegian Jews and they continue to resonate a Scottish connection to the present day.

Kindertransportees were also part of Scotland's economic emigration. T.H. Hollingsworth has shown that economic difficulties of the area were a particularly important factor driving Scottish youth into diaspora circumstances.[65] Economic reasons factored highly in the Kindertransportees' decision-making for migration. Because of a lack of financial support, Kindertransportees had to be self-supporting and financially astute. This meant that the desire for better jobs and greater economic opportunities dominated the plans of many after the war. 8% of the Kindertransportees state that they migrated for opportunities: work, economic gain and educational advancement.[66]

Economic migrants tended to follow financial opportunities south of the border or overseas. Kindertransportees who remained in Scotland tended to gravitate towards either Glasgow (67%) or Edinburgh.[67] However, the majority left Scotland and moved to large cities, especially to London. The USA also offered greater financial rewards. 28% of those who migrated to the USA did so for opportunities pertaining to either monetary or material gains, work or educational opportunities.[68] 20% of these migrated specifically to take advantage of educational opportunities.[69] These were largely the result of military service during the war, which qualified the

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[64] FWPC/Martha.
[65] T.H., Hollingsworth, *Migration: A study based on Scottish experience between 1939 and 1964* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1970); Rowland Berthoff, reviewed work(s): 'Migration: A Study Based on Scottish Experience between 1939 and 1964', by T. H. Hollingsworth, *International Migration Review*, vol.5, 4.
[66] KA:QU/SUP.
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.*

Kindertransportees for opportunities offered by the GI Bill of Rights. 40% of Kindertransportees who state that they migrated for better opportunities relate this to a desire for economic gain.[70] Business promotions directed one Kindertransportee to Venezuela, where he worked as regional manager of a large company until retirement.[71]

The Kindertransportees' decision to migrate overseas was therefore not automatically partnered with a desire a leave Scotland. Instead, it reflected the Kindertransportees' pragmatic approach to their lives after 1945. Elsie states:

> I would probably have gone wherever I could make a living, I had learnt that there was a relationship between where you lived, what you do and how you survive, I think my first thing if things had gone normally and there was a teaching job in Scotland I would have gone there … its just a matter of history and familiarity … you don't expose yourself more than you have to to stranger things. I had already had plenty of experience of being uprooted and I would have had to make still another adjustment. I would never have said 'no, I could never go to England'.[72]

Martha Bauer explains the sharp improvement in lifestyle after migrating to the USA: 'during the war we were permitted one pet of butter once a week … in Ellis Island we had all the butter we could eat … in Ellis island we had napkins everyday … the contrast was so big.'[73]

Kindertransportees living abroad frequently still express a strong affinity to all things Scottish and point to an underlining connection with the Scottish diaspora community. Benson lives in Kibbutz Amiad, Israel, and enjoyed annual Burns Nights until the 1980s. He believes that there is still a strong Scottish influence on the character of the Kibbutz, such as accent, humour and other cultural peculiarities.[74] Perhaps as a result, Benson still feels that he is equally the product of the Scots as much as he is the Czechs and the Jews. Benson states: 'I have very good and close feelings to my Scottish heritage and my Czech heritage in the last couple

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[70] *Ibid.*
[71] FWPC/Bert.
[72] FWPC/Elsie.
[73] WHMA/SC:RG-50.166*03.
[74] FWPC/Benson.

of years'.[75] Elsie, who now lives in the USA, expresses an abundance of Scottish national sentiments, prejudices and cultural peculiarities:

> It feels familiar hearing the Scottish accent … A really warm feeling about anything to do with Scotland.
> I am somewhat prejudiced … how can you grow up in Scotland otherwise, but you are a nice *Sassenach*, but I was never exposed very much to English people.[76]

Links with post-war demographic shifts

The trends that emerge in the Kindertransportees' post-war migration are also reflective of general post-war demographic shifts around the world. This was very much linked to ideological goals for a better life in the aftermath of the war. This drew a substantial number of Scots to locations across the world, such as Australia and New Zealand. Kindertransportees who took these routes express the importance of this geographical separation of their new 'home' from associations of war. 5% of Kindertransportees migrated to alternative destinations to England, Israel and USA, instead choosing Nepal, South America, New Zealand and Canada. One Kindertransportee chose Ottawa in Canada as an experiment for a new life and another migrated to New Zealand to escape the associations of war and violence with Europe.[77]

Ideological commitments, such as communism, pacifism or Zionism, drew Kindertransportees to new countries that offered to meet their utopian ideals. Zionism had a significant support network amongst Scotland's Jews.[78] Kindertransportees were commonly nurtured towards a Zionist inspired lifestyle and a significant number underwent the two-year training programme at one of

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[75] FWPC/Benson.
[76] FWPC/Elsie.
[77] FWPC/Ruth.
[78] For details about Scotland's Jewry's Zionist links see Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939; immigration and integration* (London, Valentine Mitchell, 2007); Kenneth Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry (*Glasgow: Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, 1987); *Collins, Second City Jewry; the Jews of Glasgow in the age of expansion, 1790-1919 (*Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives, 1990).

Scotland's pre-*hachsharot*.[79] Subsequently, Scotland's Kindertransportees often chose to migrate to Israel, sometimes temporarily, based on their humanitarian or Zionist beliefs. Some went to aid the influx of destitute Holocaust survivors, while others wished to help establish the infrastructure needed for the new nation. This included founding a Kibbutz, offering specific skills in other fields, such as nursing gained during the war.[80] Between 1947 and 1953 Kindertransportees also volunteered for the Israel Defence Forces.[81] Long-term theological commitments, especially Zionism, were central in many decisions for resettlement. 19% of Scotland's Kindertransportees stated that Zionism was their main reason for migration. Unsurprisingly all of those who stated 'Zionism' as their reason for migration chose to make *Aliyah* to Israel.

The desire to dislocate oneself from being Jewish was also important in some Kindertransportees' migratory choices. Kindertransportees explain that this was because they feared the return of Fascist anti-Semitism in the future and sought to protect their new families from undue persecution and social insecurity. Debbie does not want her children to be Jewish.[82] She still fears for the inevitable impact of anti-Semitism in the future and has distanced herself and her family from other Jewish communities in London. Kindertransportees in Britain and the USA often relocated to areas isolated from Jewish communities. In England, locations such as Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, Worcestershire and Henley-on-Thames were chosen, where they sought little or no participation with the nearest Jewish community.[83] In the USA individual Kindertransportees settled in areas with limited Jewish activity, including Brewer in Maine, Beachwood in Ohio, Highland Park in Illinois and Reading in Pennsylvania.[84]

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[79] Whittingehame Farm School Ltd. or later Polton House.
[80] FWPC/Rachel.
[81] FWPC/Rachel, Edna.
[82] FWPC/Debbie.
[83] KA:QU/SUP.
[84] *Ibid.*

Implications upon broader life stories.

The Kindertransportees' experience of migration has had far reaching implications on their broader life stories. The tripartite structure of their migration, as mentioned previously, has developed disjointed and unattached sections to their lives. Kindertransportees reflect on the lack of overarching continuity across their lifespan. Elsie, who narrated her Austrian, Scottish and American lives as three defining eras, notes that her greatest remorse is the lack of continuity compared to her husband's life:

> I miss the continuity in my life very much and as I get older perhaps even more … I do not know anyone from my first life except my cousin, but nobody has known me through out my three lives … I have a different relationship with all these people, that's the one thing I really feel very jealous of my husband, who has a continuum, all his life of the same people and the same places… a normal life.[85]

The reason for the Kindertransportees' first migration has also had unusual implications upon their relationship with their migration story. Their forced migration from Greater Germany bolstered the importance of Scotland in their lives. Kindertransportees suggest a preference for offering Scotland as their point of origin in life, rather than Germany.[86] Forced migration and memories of persecution and prejudice, along with the fate of their families, have made most Kindertransportees seek to amputate the beginning part of their life story. This has resulted in a detached approach to the narration of the first section of their lives, with emphasis on historical occurrences and less personal anecdotes.[87]

The connection to Germany or other points of origin was sometimes re-established in later life. As mentioned previously, the majority of Kindertransportees lost their mother tongue in Scotland and struggled in later life to grasp the basics of their first language.[88] However, the progression of old age has brought surprises for some. Elsie recalls that in later life 'out of the blue, all of a sudden' she was looking

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[85] FWPC/Elsie.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] FWPC/Ariel.
[88] *Ibid.*

through some German text and 'it was back', she could 'understand it … read it … like someone switched on a light'.[89] One interviewee explained her contradictory relationship with her hometown Kassel:

> I've been back to Kassel a few times and I feel I belong there, it's terrible to say that and I shouldn't feel like that. But I don't feel strange in Kassel. But I feel part of it.[90]

The uncertain relationship to their places of origin felt by the Kindertransportees has created confusion concerning their correct national identity in later life. Rachel states that she could never make claim to be 'Scottish', but that she does say 'I am British'.[91] This trend has also become apparent amongst English Kindertransportees. Kindertransportees express the belief that being 'British' holds less demands for foreign born citizens. They suggest that they would feel fraudulent if they claimed to be Scottish and that they could never tick all the social and cultural boxes they feel were necessary to qualify. Rachel believes that possessing foreign accents and customs bars her from being a real Scot.[92]

The desire to belong and to feel like a true national citizen or community member has also had a central bearing on the Kindertransportees' broader life stories. Kindertransportees who went to the USA stress the privileged position they enjoyed joining an immigrant country, which allowed them to shed their refugee status at an early stage. In contrast, Kindertransportees who remained in Britain express their frustration at being considered outsiders, believing that they never truly integrated. Rachel explains:

> I can't say I am Scottish because I don't belong to the McDonalds, the McClouds, the McCandels … I always felt an outsider, I always felt that I had to be very careful and I never felt part of it, I couldn't, I knew I was a refugee and I knew there were limitations to what I could expect and that I could demand.[93]

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[89] *Ibid.*
[90] FWPC/Marthe.
[91] FWPC/Rachel.
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] *Ibid.*

The Kindertransportees also express feeling detached and different to other refugees arriving in Britain from Greater Germany after 1945. This was mainly due to their elongated stay in Britain, which had led to their Anglicisation and alienated them from continental customs. This is perhaps best projected in Kindertransportees' testimonies to their difficult adjustment with their parents after being reunited.[94] They had most often experienced separate and very different lives during the war years. By 1945, the Kindertransportees express feeling that they were very different people to their parents. Jan recalls the culture shock when she was reunited with he parents:

> Total shock … my mother had become ultra religious and had put on a wig, and they were very European and I was an assistant buyer and dressed to the hilt … they left a little girl and now it was totally different … my mother later on became very Americanised.[95]

Conclusion

Scotland experienced a mass exodus of Kindertransportees after 1945. However, this article has been intended to show that these statistics should not be interpreted as a definitive indication of Scotland's limited influence on the Kindertransportees' lives. The migration of the Kindertransportees from Scotland was the result of a complex mixture of influences. These were connected to their status as Kindertransportees – unaccompanied trans-migrant minors – displaced refugees, Scottish residents and members of a wartime generation.

The Kindertransportees' migratory narrative possesses an array of discernable and unique features. Few sought repatriation and this produced the tripartite progressive migration structure. The war ensured that most spent their formative years within Scotland, and this meant that Scotland became a significant section of

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[94] See also Ruth Barnett, 'The Other Side of the Abyss: A Psychodynamic Approach to Working with Groups of People who Came to England as Children on the Kindertransporte', *British Journal of Psychotherapy,* vo.12, 2 (1995); Ute Benz, 'Traumatization through Separation: Loss of Family and Home as Childhood Catastrophes', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol.23 (2004) 85-99.

[95] FWPC/Jan.

their life story. The mass exodus of Kindertransportees from Scotland must not be assumed to represent a common desire to leave Scotland. Instead, Kindertransportees very much echo the Scottish diaspora narrative, whereby they were responsive to the push/pull dichotomy of Scotland.[96] This pushed many Kindertransportees out of Scotland in order to seek financial security and economic betterment.

In the diaspora, Kindertransportees commonly migrated towards Scottish enclaves, finding cultural and social familiarity amongst other Scottish migrants. Even those who remained outside a Scottish community, express a continued affinity towards Scotland, its people and heritage. Interviewees have revealed the prevalence of Scottish nationalist sentiments. In interviews, Kindertransportees have utilised the Gaelic term 'Sassinach' to derogatively refer to an English person as an inferior outsider or non-Scot.[97] This suggests that the Kindertransportees did form a Scottish national identity. Scotland's Kindertransportees have even established this national divide in regards to commemorative events and reunions of the Kindertransport.[98] The emergence of SAROK, Scotland's own national Kindertransport Association, perhaps best articulates the depth of the Scottish legacy upon the Kindertransportees who were placed north of the border.

The complexity of their forced migratory story, however, has meant that despite this loyalty, most feel unable to proclaim Scottish membership. Instead, Kindertransportees' proclaim 'Britishness' and reflect a deep-rooted insecurity about membership and belonging. A desire to counter these insecurities and displacement issues became central to many Kindertransportees' migration and resettlement decisions. These often prioritised family reunions, daily stability, permanency, roots, belonging and a sense of membership to a group, over an immediate Scottish connection. These prioritise drew many Kindertransportees from Scotland, but not necessarily from the concept of being part of a Scottish people.

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[96] See Hollingsworth, *Migration*; Angela McCarthy, Personal Narratives of Irish and Scottish migration, 1921-1965: "For spirit and adventure"'(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
[97] FWPC/Rachel, Elsie.
[98] *Ibid.*

Appendix 8: Book review

Frances Williams, review of Emil Fackenheim, 'An Epitaph for German Judaism: From Halle to Jerusalem', ***Shofar: An interdisciplinary journal of Jewish studies,*** **vol.27, 3 (Spring 2009) 173-175.**

Emil Fackenheim's *An Epitaph for German Judaism* is much more than an elegy for the German Jewish victims of the *Shoah*. It is also an eloquent celebration of German Judaism post-*Shoah*. Even more, it is a fitting tribute to the late Emil Fackenheim and his 'two hat' scholarly career as both a Jew and a philosopher.

With much of the publication devoted to reflections on Fackenheim's own personal and professional life, the uninformed reader is provided with a rich guide to his philosophical ideas and scholarly legacy. In close conjunction, issues of German Judaism, past and present, are engrossingly reconsidered. Utilizing the *Sittlichkeit* position, Fackenheim successfully applies his philosophical and theological training to his historical and sociological subject matter.

The complex nature of contemporary global Jewish communities, in terms of culture, spiritual faith, and religious practices, along with Judaism's pre- and post-*Shoah* existence, is of central concern throughout the publication. Fackenheim is realistically unapologetic about his inability fully to resolve the issues he advances. He offers philosophical reasoning and injects 'German idealism', most notably Hegelian ideas of 'ethical life', into his frequently pessimistic diagnosis of the nature of humanity and interfaith relations. He argues that the uncertainty of a progressive human linear development means that there can be no certainty that the *Shoah* will never happen again. Fackenheim views Israel as the most important safeguard against this threat. 'Judeo phobia' in Europe and the world has, in his view, escalated since the *Shoah* and is aggressively expressed against Israel. Fackenheim's theological solution is for greater inter-faith dialogue to improve Judeo-Christian relations. Fackenheim is calling for conversation and not just a tombstone to the past.

A number of unresolved matters relating to the *Shoah* are intriguingly presented. Most notably, when did the *Shoah* unequivocally begin, or, to be more precise, at what point was there no turning back? *Kristallnacht*, Fackenheim argues, was this crucial point at which 'ordinary' Germans became accomplices and collaborators with

the Nazi regime. This watershed marked the final entrenchment of the Nazis into power by giving them social as well as political affirmation. This contradicts the commonly accepted argument that the Nazis were fully entrenched by mid-1934 at the latest. Furthermore, Fackenheim argues that neighbors and local community members committed the violence of *Kristallnacht*. This contention overlooks the understanding that in most cases the SS perpetrators were not actually from the local area and a significant amount of opposition and disdain by local people against the SS activities existed. *Kristallnacht*, in Fackenheim's view, was an unforeseeable turning point, which polarized the local communities between victim and perpetrator. This unexpected event, along with the inability of most German Jews to find a country to emigrate to, he argues, explains why there was a large number of German Jews in Germany in 1939.

Fackenheim also underlines the deep cultural and social bond of German Jews to Germany and their continued false sense of security right up until their murder. These two ideas appear contradictory, suggesting on the one hand that German Jewry was imprisoned within Germany and could not leave, while on the other, highlighting that many did not wish to leave and believed the situation could not get any worse. That about half the Jewish population of German in 1933 had left by September 1939 is another area dealt with hazily. Fackenheim does demonstrate that Germany was German Jewry's *Heimat* and that the *Shoah* represents an utter betrayal. He does not, however, present clearly and without contradiction the when, why, and with what effect did Nazism occur in Germany.

The issue of individual choice, resistance, and culpability for Nazi crimes is again grappled with clumsily. How could 'ordinary' 'good' Germans have been party to such horrors? Why were there onlookers and bystanders who did not resist and fight for their moral and ethical values? It is perhaps this aspect of the Epitaph that most poignantly elucidates Fackenheim's personal relationship with the *Shoah* and his continued struggle to deal with the reality of its horrors. Fackenheim argues that egalitarianism and improved relations with the Arab and Muslim communities are the only means of safeguarding the Israeli state. The wounds and scars left by the *Shoah* have not healed or faded, and its shadow clearly lingers over Fackenheim, the survivor, the philosopher and the Jew.

In contrast, Jewish resistance is dealt with efficiently and confidently. When, how and to what extent could and did German Jewry resist the onslaught of Nazism?

In contrast to Hannah Arendt, who focuses on the political terms of resistance to overthrow the Nazi regime, Fackenheim stresses the importance of smaller acts of individual and often muted resistance. The biggest problem for Fackenheim was the indiscriminate and dehumanizing nature of the murder of European Jewry. This removed the most powerful form of individual resistance, martyrdom. The result, in his view, was that six million Jews were unable to die as martyrs and perished pointlessly. This is perhaps the most perplexing aspect of the publication. Fackenheim is unable to fully resolve this issue or ascribe martyrdom to the six million Jewish victims of the Shoah.

Encompassing these perplexities is Israel, the only absolute and certain point. Fackenheim made *Aliyah* to Israel with his family in 1983, after becoming increasingly committed to Israel. Advocating Israeli foreign policy, he interprets the legacy of the *Shoah* within a spectrum of Israeli-related issues, binding Israel in turn to the legacy of the *Shoah*. If the publication were to be set in stone, it would undoubtedly be placed upon Israeli soil. This does not devalue the publication, but injects yet another intriguing dimension to it. *An Epitaph for German Judaism* is best described as political philosophy, or, in Fackenheim's words, a "theo-political" publication.

An Epitaph for German Judaism is definitely a worthy addition to any reader's collection, but knowing in which subject area to place it is less certain. Its scope stretches beyond the boundaries of *Shoah* interest. Historically, sociologically, theologically, and philosophically exciting, *An Epitaph for German Judaism* raises fundamental questions for contemporary communities, Jewish and non-Jewish. Discussing one of the most shattering events of the twentieth century, Fackenheim illustrates clearly that its repercussions upon our society are not yet resolved. What Fackenheim does prove is that German Judaism is very much alive and does not require an epitaph.

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c. Unpublished articles and papers

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d. Multimedia (web sources, broadcasts and films)

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Jewish Agency for Israel, webpage detailing the pioneering ideology of Halutziut, http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Jewish+Education/Compelling+Content/Eye+on+Israel/Israeli+Culture/Pioneering+Ideology+Halutziut.htm.
Jewish Care Scotland (website for the Jewish community in Scotland) http://www.jcarescot.org.uk/jewishcarewho.asp.
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